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THE HOLLANDERS OF IOWA

HENRY PETER SCHOLTE

THE HOLLANDERS OF IOWA

BY

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

PUBLISHED AT IOWA CITY IOWA IN 1912 BY
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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The author of this volume on *The Hollanders of Iowa* was admirably fitted for the task. Born of Dutch parents in The Netherlands and reared among kinsfolk in Iowa, he has been a part of the life which is portrayed in these pages. At the same time Mr. Van der Zee's education at The State University of Iowa, his three years' residence at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, and his research work in The State Historical Society of Iowa have made it possible for him to study the Hollanders objectively as well as subjectively. Accordingly, his book is in no respect an overdrawn, eulogistic account of the Dutch people.

The history of the Hollanders of Iowa is not wholly provincial: it suggests much that is typical in the development of Iowa and in the larger history of the West: it is "a story of the stubborn and unyielding fight of men and women who overcame the obstacles of a new country and handed down to their descendants thriving farms and homes of peace and plenty."

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

316573

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This monograph purports to be a history of origins and a sketch of present-day conditions in the principal Dutch settlements of Iowa. It is a study of immigration and colonization rather than a detailed account, year by year, of what has been in most respects a community life of commonplace respectability so characteristic of all large bodies of foreigners in America. In other words it is a series of chapters in the history of the Hollanders of Iowa. The story of the first years of the Dutch settlements in Marion and Sioux counties is one of suffering willingly borne: it is a story of the stubborn and unyielding fight of men and women who overcame the obstacles of a new country and handed down to their descendants thriving farms and homes of peace and plenty.

The history of the Hollanders of Iowa typifies the development of the American West and the spread of the American nation: it is full of details characteristic of the large rural settlements of European immigrants in America. It is a pleasure to trace the streams of immigration which have contributed to produce the American commonwealth. The Hollanders have shown a permanent interest in American affairs and institutions; they are now closely identified with the best interests of democratic government; and with respect to the qualities requisite to success in agriculture they are surpassed by no other class of immigrants from Europe.

Of the movement of Dutch immigrants into the State of Iowa, with a statement of causes and of the singular experiences which the Dutch pioneers underwent, no full or connected account has hitherto appeared in the English language. Concerning the Dutch settlements of Iowa the writer found much widely scattered material. From time to time fragmentary sketches written in attractive style have appeared in English newspapers, magazines, and county histories; but the most valuable and authoritative information is to be obtained from newspapers, pamphlets, and books in the Dutch language. To all these sources the writer has very largely resorted and to them he is greatly indebted, as numerous notes and references will show.

Desirable biographical data relative to Dutch pioneers have been almost entirely relegated to the notes and references for the fairly obvious reason that if the writer had undertaken to insert such material in the text, he would have found himself engaged upon an endless and ungratifying task.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance which he received from many gentlemen (especially Mr. H. P. Scholte and Mr. A. J. Betten) now living among the Hollanders at Pella and in Sioux County: they very generously gave him access to newspaper files and rare Dutch books, copies of which The State Historical Society of Iowa has not been able to add to its valuable collection of materials in the Dutch language. Thanks are due also to the editors of newspapers (mentioned in a separate chapter) for their willing submission to inconvenience while the writer was engaged in his researches: to all these and to other persons the writer is grateful for many courtesies. Especial thanks are due to Dr. Dan E. Clark, Assistant Editor of The State Historical Society, for numerous suggestions, for corrections in the manuscript, and for the index. Finally, this volume would not have appeared if the writer had not been a Research Associate in The State Historical Society working under the direct encouragement of its Superintendent, Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh.

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY

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I

EARLY DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

TOWARDS the close of the sixteenth century began the protracted struggle of a handful of brave people against the seemingly invincible power of the wealthiest nation in the world. How the descendants of the liberty-loving Batavi of Roman times, dwelling like their forebears in the same lowlands of the Rhine delta, defied and humbled the armies and navies of Spain; how these hardy Hollanders prospered in the midst of war and finally won national independence and high position in the world — these are the noteworthy facts which make the story of the Golden Age of Holland a classic in historical literature and a cause of pardonable pride to every man with Dutch blood in his veins.[1]

Contemporary with the period of the highest glory of the Dutch Republic, when art, learning, industry, commerce, religious toleration, and democracy flourished side by side as nowhere else in Europe, when little Holland's name was heard in every quarter of the globe, New Netherland came into being in the Western Hemisphere. Dutch merchants, moved by visions of commercial gain, fitted out a little ship in charge of Hendrik Hudson to search for that unknown but alluring northwest sea-passage to China and India, the discovery of which had defied and baffled the most daring navigators of the age. Thus Hudson steered the Half Moon westward, not to Cathay, but into the river which later received his name. This incident proved to be the real beginning of Dutch interest in the American continent; and thereafter merchants began to ply between the Indians of America and the markets of Europe, for the trade in furs and peltries gave promise of much profit.

Approximately all the region which lies between the Connecticut and the Susquehanna rivers was claimed by the Dutch as their exclusive preserve for purposes of trade; but nothing was done to validate this claim until 1624, when the first band of some thirty families emigrated from Leyden and made settlements on Manhattan and Staten islands and at Fort Orange (now Albany).[2] These Walloons, who had formerly fled from religious persecution in the Belgic Netherlands and were not thoroughly Dutch except in religious belief and loyalty to the Republic and who now forsook the city of their adoption to try their fortunes in the wilderness of a New World, came as the special charges of the West India Company, to the decrees of which they were subject in all commercial and political affairs.

Although the Company's charter contained a provision relative to "the peopling of the fruitful and unsettled parts" of New Netherland, there appears to be little evidence that the Company was ever really sincere in promoting emigration from Holland except as a means to its chief end — the monopoly of trading rights. During the early decades of the seventeenth century Dutch ships scoured the high seas in search of Spanish ships, for the spoils of war were preferred to the less remunerative and nobler work of planting a colony in the wilderness.[3] Whenever it was rumored that a truce was about to be declared, the directors of the Company petitioned the States-General of Holland to desist on the ground of the damage which they had done to the enemies of the republic; and when peace was at length concluded with Spain in 1648 the Company became permanently crippled.

During the early history of New Netherland the growth of the Dutch population even for purposes of trade was insignificant. As a matter of fact conditions in Holland were quite unfavorable to the promotion of colonization. While economic and religious causes brought thousands of English to a new England, labor was well rewarded in Holland and religious toleration prevailed in the Dutch provinces. Conditions such as these did not induce emigration to a strange land where the outlook was so uncertain. Furthermore, the Dutch inhabitants in the Hudson River region had not only found very scant means of livelihood, but they also worried much about the dangers from Indians and foreign enemies. The Company, moreover, declared that protection was possible "at a greater expense than the apparent gains to be derived therefrom seem to justify."[4]

To direct Dutch settlers to New Netherland the States-General, urged by the West India Company, adopted a novel measure. By a charter of freedoms and exemptions large tracts along the Hudson River were granted to Dutch burghers who offered to procure a certain number of persons to cultivate the land. This revival of the feudal system of landholding by patroons proved to be a worthless expedient: Dutch inhabitants of America continued to look to the fur-trade as their main source of wealth; and the patroons, instead of concerning themselves with agriculture, "diverted their energies and means in competing with the company for a share of the Indian trade."[5] This colonization policy tended to retard the settlement and prosperity of New Netherland, so that down to the year 1634 a few forts were the chief centers of life — Fort Orange and Fort Amsterdam on the Hudson, Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, and Fort Nassau on the Delaware.

In 1638 the States-General of the Dutch Republic complained that the population of New Netherland was not increasing as it should; that, indeed, the colonists appeared to be decreasing in numbers and to be so neglected by the West India Company that if the matter were not at once attended to foreign princes and potentates would entirely overrun the colony. This was a serious complaint, but it brought no tangible results aside from a resolution to "assist in making and enacting such effectual order regarding the population of New Netherland, and thereunto invite all good inhabitants of these Netherlands by such inducements and pre-eminences as . . . . they shall resolve to offer to all colonists'' who wished to emigrate to a land where they might expect great profits from farming.[6]

Under Governor Kieft conditions in New Netherland assumed no better aspect. It is true that when trade with the Indians was thrown open to all in 1639 a new era began in the history of the colony, communicating a decided impulse to its settlement and to the increase of population, for fresh colonists came not only from the fatherland, but Englishmen came also from Virginia and New England.[7] It may be that free farmers at Esopus, New Paltz, Schenectady, and on Long Island experienced a certain degree of prosperity; but the Indian trade attracted a large number of people who cared little to acquire a permanent domicile in New Netherland: they came for big profits and sacrificed honest dealing with the Indians in order to realize their ambition. They abused the privilege of free trade and provoked the Indians to a series of massacres extending over nearly three years.

For several years the Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland maintained themselves in a most miserable and destitute condition: they appealed in vain to the States-General for aid, and they failed to obtain from the West India Company such supplies as were most urgently required for their support and protection.[8] When in 1644 comparative peace had been restored upon the high seas the Company was urged once more to facilitate emigration from Holland by promising to credit prospective colonists with ocean passage to America and by introducing farm servants and negroes to promote agriculture. Moreover, New Netherlanders were instructed not to scatter but to live together as did the New Englanders in order to protect each other.

In 1649 the people of New Netherland addressed to the States-General of Holland a long petition, enumerating the causes of their colony's wretched condition and proposing certain remedies. First of all, the petitioners complained very bitterly of the inhuman cruelties, tyranny, and misgovernment of the servants of the West India Company — especially Director Kieft. The Directors, they declared, had always been the chief obstruction in the path of progress because they preferred to secure for themselves large profits from the fur-trade rather than to promote solid agricultural prosperity, which alone could guarantee the survival of their colony in America. Indeed, they had listened more often to interested than to sound advice and had given New Netherland so evil a reputation that not only prospective colonists were frightened from setting out to try their fortunes in such a country, but scores of dissatisfied settlers returned to Holland on account of the unsuitable government, the scant privileges, the extortionate prices, and the heavy impost duties. The petitioners called attention also to the superabundance of petty traders and pedlers, to the need of farmers, to the destitution of the inhabitants in general, and to the insufferable arrogance of the Indians.

The inhabitants of New Netherland proposed, among several remedies for the evils of their colony, the abolition of duties and the free conveyance of poor people from Holland. Their humble petition to the States-General was summed up in these words:

> Whenever your High Mightinesses will be pleased to take this Province under your gracious safeguard, and allow your Fatherly protection for this Country and its granted privileges to be made public and manifest throughout the United Netherlands, then would many be attracted towards this Country, from which, on the contrary, every one is discouraged by the Company's harsh proceedings and want of means.[9]

There is no evidence, however, that the Dutch government ever thereafter took an active interest in the welfare of her American colonists — except in 1656 when the States-General ratified the conditions of an agreement between the West India Company and the city of Amsterdam, offering very good encouragement to prospective inhabitants of the city's colony on the Delaware River.[10] It was not until after 1652 that agricultural settlements began to grow in New Netherland, owing to the influx of Walloons, Huguenots, and Waldenses from Europe and Puritans from New England.[11] During the naval wars between England and Holland the province of New Netherland lay quite defenceless, and Governor Stuyvesant's appeals to his profit-loving, money-grabbing superiors went unheeded. Whatever else may be said about the English capture of the colony in 1664, it is fairly evident that a change of masters was not especially distasteful or disadvantageous to the Dutch colonists: they had little to lose and much to gain.[12]

Of the cosmopolitan population of fifteen hundred persons in New Amsterdam in 1664 more than one-half were Dutch. The same is true of the three thousand inhabitants in 1674 when the Dutch regained the colony for a short period of ownership. The entire population of New Netherland when transferred to the English is variously estimated: eight thousand is considered a liberal figure. Of these colonists in 1664, and of the twelve thousand in 1674, two-thirds were probably Dutch, while most of the remainder were English. Agriculture was then beginning to prosper, while trade was profitable and was extending farther inland. Gradually, and especially under a Dutch king on the English throne, the two chief elements of the population of New York merged and fused because they found a community of interest as colonists, entertained a common hostility towards France, and worshipped God in much the same way. In 1667 it was reported that there were three towns and fifteen villages, "besides divers extensive Colonies, bouweries and plantations"; while in 1673 the province consisted of three cities and thirty villages.[13]

It must be admitted that Dutch emigrants were by no means successful as colonizers in America. They were never numerous enough to enable Holland permanently to play a great part in the history of American colonization. To be sure, the Dutch were at that time not an emigrating but a trading people; and yet the failure of their American colony in the seventeenth century should not be attributed wholly to their character as a nation of seamen and traders. That they have always preferred to cultivate domestic virtues rather than a love of conquest and adventure there can be no question.[14]

It has been asserted that the Dutch could never have peopled a continent, on the ground that after forty years of possession "of the fairest part of America they numbered but ten thousand", while the Puritan colonies of New England contained fifty thousand.[15] That this fact should demonstrate the utter incapacity of the Dutch for colonization and their lack of fitness to found a colonial empire does not necessarily follow. Widely different conditions prevailed in England and Holland. Nor is it difficult to explain why the Dutch came chiefly to trade, while the English came to build homes. At that period in the world's history there was no particular reason why large numbers of Dutch emigrants should forsake their European homes to entrust themselves to the uncertainties of a foreign land: as long as civil and religious contentment reigned in Holland the people did not care to live elsewhere.

Dutch colonization in America was really a circumstance attendant upon the religious and political struggle between The Netherlands and Spain. Only large numbers of colonists bent upon economic and religious independence could have coped successfully with the Indian population of New Netherland. The few thousands of Hollanders who ventured to cast in their lot with the New World suffered much from the lack of protection which had been promised to them. All this was to be expected from a commercial corporation actuated wholly by the love of wealth; and so when the Dutch colonists became incorporated into the British colonial empire they had no sufficient excuse for showing a vigorous spirit of nationality. The English Puritans who had sought the shores of America for conscience sake were people of property and education: from sheer necessity they had been compelled to leave their homes and to adapt themselves to the rigors of frontier life. Everything conduced to the spread of the English into America; while in the case of the Dutch the same causes and incentives were almost entirely lacking.

II

DUTCH IMMIGRATION AFTER 1664

It is common knowledge that during the colonial period the English-speaking population of America was constantly reinforced by fresh accessions of people from the British Isles, and that to-day the American nation is dominated by Anglo-Saxon influences. Equally worthy of note is the fact that, although for over a century and a half after the English conquest of New Netherland the immigration of Hollanders from Europe had practically ceased, at least so far as the number of arrivals can be ascertained, the eight or ten thousand Dutch colonists of 1664 nevertheless throve and flourished in the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers in New York and in northern New Jersey and Delaware. There the seeds of a Dutch population took firm root and grew vigorously, as is shown by the history of the one important institution which the United States has inherited from New Netherland — the Dutch Reformed Church.[16]

The influence of Dutch ideas as exemplified by the continuity of the Reformed Church has never been absent in those eastern States where the Dutch originally settled. As a matter of fact the American descendants of the original Dutch settlers have shown that they are tenacious of the customs and ideals which their church organization and home life have preserved and handed down to them. This more than anything else disproves the assertion that early Dutch colonization was but an episode or an event of trifling importance in American colonial history.[17]

Probably no better light can be shed upon the growth of the Dutch element in the United States than that which comes from the history of the Dutch Reformed Church — though of course it would smack of presumption to infer that all descendants of the early Dutch have maintained the church connection of their fathers, or that all Dutch immigrants to America have united with the church. Bearing in mind the fact that Hollanders are endowed with a strong feeling of national pride and are pretty generally partial to ancestral ways and beliefs, it is natural to assume that wherever the Dutch have come together to live they have retained their national institutions, traits, and traditions whenever practicable.

When English domination began in New Netherland there were eleven Dutch churches: four on Long Island at Midwout (Flatbush), Amersfoort (Flatlands), Breuckelen (Brooklyn), and Gravesend; one at Bergen, New Jersey; one at New Amstel (New Castle), Delaware; and five in New York at Manhattan or New Amsterdam, Fort Orange (Albany), Esopus (Kingston), Haarlem, and Bushwyck. Despite the amalgamation of Dutch and English which ensued, the Hollanders remained predominant in the population of New York and continued to speak their native language in the Reformed Church for almost one hundred years; while the Church itself, depending to a large extent upon the state church of Holland, looked in that direction for its ministers until 1772 when national ties were finally broken.[18]

For many years after 1664 the Dutch carried on a successful struggle in New York for the preservation of their religious liberty and church organization, and owing to the oppressions of English governors many emigrated and formed congregations in the valleys of the Raritan and the Millstone in northern New Jersey, a region which on account of its spiritual prosperity has come to be known as "the Garden of the Dutch Church". Here the people afterwards established a college and a theological seminary. At the end of their prolonged fight against the attempt to foist the Anglican Church establishment upon them, the Dutch could boast of an increase from eleven churches in 1664 to thirty-four in 1708.[19]

From such feeble beginnings in 1664 under particularly trying conditions, although the political institutions and language of the Dutch were in course of time almost entirely wiped out and supplanted by those of the English, the Dutch Reformed Church in America developed and prospered until by the year 1840 it comprised a membership of several hundred churches in the States of New York and New Jersey; while a few scattered congregations existed in Pennsylvania, whither a stream of emigration from New Jersey had started towards the close of the eighteenth century. Descendants of Dutch ancestors took a prominent part in the westward movement which set in after the close of the Revolutionary War. They were among the pioneers of western New York and of Kentucky, whence it is said "as from a hive, colonies swarmed off into southern Ohio and Indiana." Indeed, the names of Dutch pioneers can be found throughout the American West. At the same time it would be quite impossible to determine the number of descendants of the original Dutch colonists of New Netherland.[20]

There may have been a slight movement of people from Holland immediately after the peace treaty of 1783, but there is no government record of immigration prior to 1821. Conjecture places the number of immigrants to the United States before 1820 at about 4000 annually, and of these the Hollanders can not have counted more than a small fraction. Statistics indicate that for the first two decades of the record only 2500 Hollanders arrived at American ports, but for the years 1841-1902 inclusive The Netherlands contributed more than 135,000 immigrants to the population of the United States.[21] To be sure, this is a small percentage of the 20,000,000 foreigners who sought American shores; but the Hollanders and their descendants have been a desirable and welcome factor in promoting the development and prosperity of the country.

During the more recent years the Hollanders have formed large communities in the upper Mississippi Valley — chiefly in Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin — though thousands have found homes also in New York and New Jersey. Census returns for 1900 gave these seven States the largest number of foreign-born Dutch, though every State and Territory in the Union contained some Hollanders in its population.[22]

Other indexes suggestive of the numerical strength of the Hollanders in various States of the Union are recent church year-books. While the number of foreign-born Dutch in New York and New Jersey is comparatively small, it appears that of nearly 700 congregations of the Reformed Church in America the former State has over 300, and the latter 125. Then follow Michigan with 62, Iowa with 50, Illinois with 33, South Dakota with 20, Wisconsin with 15, Minnesota with 11, and Pennsylvania with 10. Kansas, North Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Colorado, Washington, Ohio, Indiana, South Carolina, and Maine have a few churches each. Furthermore, there are about 200 congregations of another denomination, the Christian Reformed Church, planted for the most part in the western States and therefore more solidly Dutch than the Reformed Church congregations, whose membership, in the East especially, consists by no means exclusively of Hollanders.[23]

III

HOLLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The causes which brought about the extraordinary migrations from Europe to America during the nineteenth century were primarily economic. No corresponding period in the world's history illustrates more forcibly the well-known simile that population is like a fluid: when the saturation point is reached, emigration is the natural consequence. During the first half of the century the population of nearly every country in Europe reached such density and laborers became so plentiful that the masses of the people were forced to seek a way of escape from degradation and starvation.

In The Netherlands during the early decades of the nineteenth century social conditions were as unfavorable generally as they were everywhere else in Europe. There, religious and economic factors joined hands and caused thousands of discouraged and dissatisfied people to long for a New World. A closer view of the history of Holland reveals the motives which contributed to bring about the first extensive emigration of Hollanders to the primeval forests of Michigan and the virgin prairies of Iowa and other western States.[24]

Upon coming to the throne of Holland in 1814

William I at once turned his attention to the state church which had suffered much humiliation at the hands of Napoleon and the French and which was therefore eager to return to royal favor at whatever cost. He approved a set of general regulations to be used by a central board for administrative purposes. These regulations prescribed the maintenance of the creed as embodied in the Dutch Confession of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Doctrinal Rules of the Synod of Dort of 1618.

Church government was placed in the hands of a general synod composed of delegates from provincial synods, whose selection was to remain under royal control. Ecclesiastical property was transferred to the state; and the clergy were henceforth to receive their salaries from the state exchequer, thus being bound to the king by spiritual and financial ties. Furthermore, the clergy were to be educated at the three universities of Utrecht, Leyden, and Groningen, whose theological professors were by law declared state officers, since they were chosen, appointed, and salaried by the government. Thus the Presbyterian form of church government was reduced to an oligarchy under the king's patronage.[25]

Irregularities in the Church and deviation from its doctrines were conspicuous enough to alarm the orthodox, conservative Christians throughout the country — especially when the general synod, endowed with autocratic powers, did nothing to lessen existing grievances. At length in 1834, under the leadership of a few clergymen, scores of people seceded from the state church and formed small congregations. The seceding clergymen were Henry de Cock, Henry Peter Scholte, Anthony Brummelkamp, S. van Velzen, G. F. Gezelle Meerburg, and Albertus C. van Raalte.[26] Of this group of men, all of whom were excommunicated from the Church, Scholte was undoubtedly the foremost figure. Indeed he has been called the "Father of the Separation", and he it was who later led hundreds of his fellow-countrymen to the State of Iowa.[27]

But King William was a man who would not allow his pet schemes to be overridden. It is almost incredible that a government of the nineteenth century should have stooped to bitter religious persecution — especially in Holland so long famed for her tolerance and freedom of worship. One can not help marveling at the petty nature of the measures taken by the Dutch government to suppress the Separatist movement. Though Scholte and his colleagues were declared unsuitable and unworthy to preach, they were by no means deserted by their congregations. Nor did they desist from preaching. The result was that everywhere small congregations were formed and the new Separatist church became definitely established.

In their endeavors to restore purity of doctrine and to preach God's Word, the Separatist clergymen were hindered in every possible way. Under cover of an article of the Code Napoleon forbidding assemblies of more than twenty persons without a license from the local authorities, the government used every means to disperse Separatist meetings, whether held in barns, in the open air, or in private houses. Thus the police took a hand in breaking up local gatherings; and numerous Separatists were prosecuted and punished with fines or imprisonment. Worst of all, wherever the new movement claimed an especially large number of adherents, the government used its authority to quarter troops in order to overawe the people and prevent mutiny.[28]

The Separatists had, moreover, to suffer all the penalties imposed by law. Scholte, one of their leaders, could write that he had experienced military watches, imprisonments, and the payment of fines and court costs amounting to $3200. But even more intolerable were the taunts and ridicule heaped upon the Separatists by other inhabitants of The Netherlands. Scholte complained that he had been derided, hit with stones and fists, and when hundreds of hands were raised against him he had heard the excited mob cry out, "Kill him, kill him!"[29]

Despite the government's relentless persecution, the religious beliefs of the Separatists spread until they were finally recognized by royal decree in 1839. Seven years later, however, two of their leaders still loudly exclaimed against local government officials who employed every means to postpone the granting of permission to preach as the new law obliged them to do and who, furthermore, received the encouragement of "nearly all who call themselves noble and religious" — although some would gladly have granted what the law enjoined had they not felt "that thereby they would fall into disfavor with authorities higher up." Even as late as 1846 the complaint was sometimes heard that citizens were being dragged into court and fined for the misdemeanor "of using their houses for the worship of God without the government's authority, and for preaching the name of Christ crucified" to more than twenty persons.[30]

In the minds of the Dissenters there was one other object of prime importance, namely, Christian education. Everywhere arose a crying demand for the improvement of the system of popular education; and yet those who wished to take the pains and bear the expense of organizing Christian schools were hindered by the local authorities. They desired the privilege of educating their children in their own schools inasmuch as the state offered only a general education in morals, which neither Jew nor Roman Catholic might refuse. But the government looked upon special schools with unconcealed disfavor and forbade the founding of such institutions.[31]

Just how much effect the religious beliefs of the Dissenters had upon their chances of earning a livelihood can not be stated with certainty. That these people were oppressed, despised, and cast out there can be little doubt. But even so, the mass of laborers in Holland at this time lived upon the verge of starvation. When a small farm was placed on the market for rent or for sale, a score or two of men found it a suitable opportunity for speculation. When a house was to be built, a score of carpenters offered bids. These and many other instances indicate that economic conditions were extremely bad throughout the country.

The masses of the people were being crushed by a system of taxation devised to liquidate the enormous national debt which had been heaped up from years of war. Many branches of industry and commerce had disappeared, although others continued to thrive. Hundreds of ordinary workmen lost their means of earning bread. Even skilled artisans complained of the lack of labor during the busiest season of the year. There was as a consequence so much competition in the labor market that wages were reduced to pathetically low figures. Workmen, upon whom children and sometimes relatives depended, sought in vain for an opportunity to make so much as a bare living. Brought to the point of stealing, thousands hopelessly surrendered themselves to be supported by the state. Eight million dollars were annually expended upon them by the Dutch government; while private benefactions were at the same time enormous. National deterioration was daily being aggravated by the lamentable undermining of trade, the decrease of wages, unscrupulous competition, and exhaustive taxation. "The third estate is disappearing, the capital of the rich increases, and day laborers very often fail in their most serious endeavors to find either regular work or bread."

Scholte declared that though the condition of his fatherland did not yet make emigration inevitable he was forced to acknowledge that if a change were not soon effected a Christian would find it impossible to engage in any business without offending his conscience. He could not close his eyes to the increasing poverty of his fellow-countrymen: from the picture of their struggles and privations he could find no relief.[32]

IV

WHY DUTCH EMIGRANTS TURNED TO AMERICA

SUCH was the condition of things in The Netherlands that thousands of people lived from hand to mouth, the prey of poverty and hunger, stupefied by the hopelessness of securing the necessities of life, and barely enabled through the gifts of the well-to-do to drag out their wretched lives. At the same time many of these unfortunate persons were hopeful and eager to find a place where they might obtain a livelihood, lead quiet lives of honesty and godliness, and educate their children in the principles of religion without let or hindrance. The leaders of the Separatists looked forward to a life of freedom in a land where man would not have to wait for work but where work awaited man, where people would not rub elbows by reason of the density of population, and where God's creation would welcome the coming of man.[33]

When social forces such as these, mostly beyond human control, began to operate with increasing power the Dutch people were not slow to recognize the truth that emigration was absolutely necessary. The seriousness of the situation dawned upon all thinking men — especially upon state officials, who feared that unless the stream of emigration could be directed toward the Dutch colonies their country would suffer an enormous drain of capital and human lives. Accordingly the attention of prospective emigrants was called to the Dutch East Indies — chiefly to the advantages of the rich island of Java, "that paradise of the world, the pearl in Holland's crown".

The religion of the Dissenters, however, was responsible for turning the balance in favor of some other land. To them Java was as a closed door. Beside the fear of an unhealthful climate towered the certainty of legislation hostile to their Christian principles and ideals. Moreover, could poor men afford the expense of transportation thither and could they feel assured of getting land or work in Java? State officials, men of learning, and men of business from several parts of the country were summoned to an important conference at Amsterdam to discuss the whole emigration movement. The Separatist leaders were asked why they should not remain Netherlanders under the House of Orange by removing to the colonies just as the people of the British Isles found homes in the English colonies. Two Separatist ministers appealed to the government to direct the flood of emigration toward Java by promises of civil and religious liberty. But the attempt to secure a free Christian colony in Java produced only idle expectations.[34]

Then it was that the people turned their eyes away from the East toward the United States of North America, a land of freedom and rich blessings where they hoped to find in its unsettled interior some spot adaptable to agriculture and thus rescue themselves from the miseries of a decadent state. To the discontented, ambitious Hollander was presented the picture of a real land of promise, where all things would smile at him and be prepared, as it were, to aid him. It was said that "after an ocean passage of trifling expense the Netherlander may find work to do as soon as he sets foot on shore; he may buy land for a few florins per acre; and feel secure and free among a people of Dutch, German and English birth, who will rejoice to see him come to increase the nation's wealth." Asserting that they could vouch for the truthfulness of this picture, as based on the positive assurances and experiences of friends already in America, the Separatist clergyman-pamphleteers openly declared that they would not hesitate to rob Holland of her best citizens by helping them on their way to America.

Of the people and government of the United States, Scholte, who was destined to lead hundreds of his countrymen to the State of Iowa, at an early date cherished a highly favorable opinion, which he expressed as follows:

> I am convinced that a settlement in some healthful region there will have, by the ordinary blessing of God, excellent temporal and moral results, especially for the rising generation. . . . Should it then excite much wonder that I have firmly resolved to leave The Netherlands and together with so many Christian relatives adopt the United States as a new fatherland?

> There I shall certainly meet with the same wickedness which troubles me here; yet I shall find also opportunity to work. There I shall certainly find the same, if not still greater, evidence of unbelief and superstition; but I shall also find a constitutional provision which does not bind my hands in the use of the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; there I can fight for what I believe without being disobedient to the magistrates and authorities ordained by God. There I shall find among men the same zeal to obtain this world's goods; but I shall not find the same impulse to get the better of one another, for competition is open to all; I shall not find the same desire to reduce the wages of labor, nor the same inducement to avoid taxation, nor the same peevishness and groaning about the burden of taxation.
>
> There I shall find no Minister of Public Worship, for the separation of Church and State is a fact. There I shall not need to contribute to the support of pastors whose teachings I abhor. I shall find no school commissions nor school supervisors who prohibit the use of the Bible in schools and hinder the organization of special schools, for education is really free. I shall find there the descendants of earlier inhabitants of Holland, among whom the piety of our forefathers still lives, and who are now prepared to give advice and aid to Hollanders who are forced to come to them.[33]

Scholte, however, never claimed to be a refugee from the oppression of the Old World. He left Europe because the social, religious, and political condition of his native country was such that, according to his conviction, he could not with any reasonable hope of success work for the actual benefit of honest and industrious fellowmen. Very many members of Scholte's emigrant association felt certain that they and their children would sink from the middle class and end their lives as paupers, if they remained in Holland.

Later emigration to America was in no small degree due to a cause which has always operated in inducing people to abandon their European homes. After a period of residence in America, Hollanders, elated by reason of their prosperity and general change of fortune, very naturally reported their delight to friends and relatives in the fatherland, strongly urging them to come and share their good luck instead of suffering from want in Holland. They wrote of higher wages, fertile soil, cheapness of the necessities of life, abundance of cheap land, and of many other advantages. If one's wages for a day's work in America equalled a week's earnings in Holland, surely it was worth while to leave that unfortunate country. Such favorable reports as these were largely instrumental in turning the attention of Hollanders to the New World as the one great land of opportunity.[36]

V

THE JOURNEY TO AMERICA

No sooner had the ferment caused by over-population, scarcity of work, and religious discontent shown its effect in the stir of people desirous of finding relief in the New World than certain leaders arose to give advice and directions. Chief among these were the dissenting clergymen van Raalte, Brummelkamp, and Scholte, who as pamphleteers and speakers exerted a powerful influence upon the emigration movement. They perceived the perils which might flow from indiscreet and indiscriminate emigration, and accordingly they cautioned prospective emigrants against removing to America without all necessary information. Among the numerous dangers which they foresaw and most earnestly pointed out were settling in the fatally hot marsh and rice lands of the slave States and scattering among English-speaking people — two disadvantages which were capable of rendering Hollanders extremely miserable.

In view of such risks the Separatist clergymen not only urged the formation of emigrant associations, but assisted in their organization in various parts of Holland. These societies, which consisted of the heads of families and other members of church congregations and which were not limited to Dissenters, were formed to procure funds to defray the expenses of emigration and to serve their members in every possible way. Profane, immoral, or intemperate persons were not admitted to membership. Avowed atheists, skeptics, and Roman Catholics also were excluded. Those members who could command the means were expected to take charge of one or more poor but worthy persons or families desiring to emigrate.

The leaders at once began to search for a region in America with temperate climate and one from which the inhabitants might easily transport their products: there the emigrant associations might separately or jointly establish themselves. In advocating the purchase of sufficient land in one locality the members of the associations had their own personal interests at heart. They wished to make scattering impossible, to prevent their colony from becoming the hiding-place of those who desired to escape their creditors; and they hoped to secure themselves against undesirable persons in general. But first of all they determined in this way to provide for their own form of religious worship, Christian education, and prompt medical attention.[37] In associations, therefore, the clergyman leaders saw strength — "eendracht maakt macht."

The reason which moved such clergymen as van Raalte and Scholte to encourage people to emigrate in bodies was traceable to the intimate relations existing between them and their congregations. For many years they had striven and suffered together, and at the price of much self-sacrifice they had in some measure realized their aspirations. Would not this whole gain be rendered of no account if the Dissenters spread themselves among strangers in a strange land, and would they not be as sheep without a shepherd? "That they had the courage, in the interests of their followers, to break the chains which bound them to the fatherland is to the honor of Scholte and van Raalte, and sets the stamp of uprightness on their intentions." Thus the destinies of pastors and flocks became linked together.[38]

After much discussion of the subject of emigration at informal gatherings and also in Scholte's periodical devoted to the religious views of the new sect, a formal meeting was called in the city of Utrecht in the month of August, 1846. An emigrant association was formed of nearly seventy well-to-do families, mostly from the province of South Holland. Later many more families from other provinces joined, so that the society is said to have had one thousand three hundred members.[39] A committee of delegates selected from various congregations of Dissenters to draw up rules to govern the emigration movement convened at Utrecht on September 4, 1846. When they computed the amount of land which the association was prepared to buy it was found that the members had subscribed for the purchase of twelve square miles of territory. Later the purchase of much additional land was authorized.

During the summer of 1846 certain members of the Utrecht association decided to undertake the journey to America as soon as possible. Although they had not yet determined which part of the United States would be most suitable for settlement, these Hollanders, numbering thirty persons young and old, being the first emigrants who later founded homes in the State of Iowa, bade farewell to their friends and fatherland on October 2, 1846.

This little band of people paved the way for the exodus of Hollanders the following spring. As forerunners of Dutch emigration to the Middle West of America, in company with home-seekers from other parts of Europe, they set sail from Rotterdam. After being detained by a three days' storm in the English Channel their ship was steered into the North Sea along the eastern coast of England and around Scotland, and thence, with favorable wind and weather they completed forty-five days of sailing and set foot upon American soil at New Orleans, Louisiana, on November 19, 1846. Hendrik Barendregt, the leader of the party, in a letter to Scholte from St. Louis dated December 14, 1846, praised and thanked the Lord "who has shown us day by day that He is with us and out of his abundant love has led and saved us, and given us strength, even more than we could expect." He described the five-thousand-mile water journey, and on conditions in the Mississippi Valley he made many intelligent observations which afforded much instruction and information to oncoming emigrants from Holland.[40] (See Appendix A.)

At the last meeting of the Utrecht association, which was held on the 25th of December, 1846, the members adopted a constitution, elected H.P.Scholte and A. J. Betten president and vice-president respectively, and chose as council J. F. Le Cocq, G. H. Overkamp, A. Wigny, and J. Rietveld, with I. Overkamp as secretary. They fixed upon late March or early April in 1847 as the best time for their departure to the New World.[41] The first to disembark upon American shores in the spring of the year 1847 were Scholte and his family, who had left Rotterdam and traveled by way of London and Liverpool to Boston, arriving on the steamboat "Sarah Sand" early in the month of May after a journey of thirteen days.[42]

When the time came for the great body of members of the Utrecht association to take final leave of relatives, friends, and the fatherland and set out for a country of which they knew comparatively nothing, four three-masters were chartered to convey them to America. The "Nagasaki" left Rotterdam on April the 11th with over two hundred persons on board; and at about the same time the ships "Maasstroom" and "Catharina Jackson" set sail with about one hundred and ninety-seven and one hundred and sixty-nine passengers respectively; while the "Pieter Floris" departed from Amsterdam with men, women, and children numbering about two hundred and twenty-two. In all there were approximately one hundred and sixty families, and these together with many unmarried persons comprised a total of over eight hundred individuals.[43] Their leaders were A. Wigny, Rev. A. J. Betten, G. H. Overkamp, Isaac

Overkamp, J. F. Le Cocq, H. Y. Viersen, J. Rietveld, and J. Smeenk, two of whom were assigned to each ship to exercise general supervision and to take turns in conducting daily religious services on shipboard.

Seven or eight weeks were consumed in making the ocean voyage to America. Despite terrible storms and such discomforts as awaiting one's turn to cook meals on the ship's stove, general peace and satisfaction reigned in the community life on board the sailing-vessels. Though the time passed without serious mishap, two adults and eighteen children found graves in the Atlantic. Several children were born. The emigrants looked forward patiently and hopefully to better things to come in the New World, and during these weeks upon the water they were enabled to become better acquainted with one another: their interests became more closely identified and their aims became more clearly defined. The four little ships finally cast anchor in the harbor of Baltimore, Maryland — the first late in May and the last early in June. Much happiness prevailed when the Hollanders beheld American shores, for it meant the end of a tedious ocean trip.

Thus the first large organized body of emigrants who forsook the intolerable conditions of The Netherlands willingly submitted to inconvenience and suffering in order to find a better life in America; but they were to experience still greater discomforts and griefs before finally establishing themselves upon the prairies of Iowa.[44]

VI

FROM BALTIMORE TO ST. LOUIS IN 1847

As PRESIDENT of the Utrecht emigrant association Scholte preceded his flock to America, landing at Boston two or three weeks before the little fleet of sailing-vessels entered the harbor of Baltimore. He visited Albany, New York City, and Washington in search of all kinds of information that might be useful and necessary in determining where the proposed colony of Hollanders should be established, and of his experiences in eastern States he later wrote a detailed account.[45]

It was a part of Scholte's work to investigate the best means of inland transportation for the Hollanders who were coming. He was thus enabled to come into touch with a class of persons all too common at that period in the history of immigration to the United States. These "kidnappers and deceivers", like bands of hungry wolves, stormed each incoming ship of European emigrants. In their scheming attempts to gain the foreigner's confidence, they manifested the utmost concern in his welfare, warned him of the danger of falling into the snares of liars, and offered to conduct him to a good lodging place and to explain the best and cheapest mode of travel in America.

Every transportation office at American ports was said to have such men in its service. As a means of exploiting the purses of foreigners the system proved to be so insidious that Scholte could not confidently recommend a reliable office. He later urged emigrating Europeans to be prepared to speak English, and above all, to familiarize themselves with North American conditions before leaving their homes, so that they might personally study and investigate steamboat and railway connections in America.

Scholte naïvely observed that these "ronselaars" at American ports had become "so accustomed to see incoming ships filled with half-starved Irishmen or ill-smelling Germans that the rumor of the coming of so many Hollanders, with money in their pockets and clean looks besides, goaded their zeal anew to give chase after what people here have already quite generally learned to call 'willempjes'." Among the men whose appetite for these ten-florin gold pieces or "little Williams" had suddenly been whetted were many Hollanders who were acquainted with the personal history and circumstances of some of their oncoming countrymen or were informed by allies equally concerned in Holland. Scholte wrote from Iowa that one could form no adequate conception of this branch of industry in American harbors: "a man should almost be able to read their hearts if he wishes to be secure from paying toll in one form or another to this host of unofficial officers."

Aroused by what he had learned of the American commercial world in the ports, and especially at New York City, Scholte recognized the necessity of meeting the vessels which bore his followers; and when he received the glad tidings that one ship had reached its destination and later that the others were in sight, he hastened by rail to Baltimore where he "could rejoice in the safe arrival of those with whom I should henceforth live in common."[46]

Baltimore, then described as a large city with hundreds of ships anchored or moored in its harbor, and chickens, hogs, and cattle running loose upon its muddy streets, shocked the Hollanders who were accustomed to seeing orderly, well-kept highways in city and town and gravel roads throughout the country. Wearied by weeks of monotonous sailing, they expected to see a picture more attractive than that which presented itself at their introduction to "the land of promise". The journey overland they hoped would be more pleasant and more varied; but their first impressions were frankly disappointing. The sight of a bustling sea-port with ill-kept streets and make-shift buildings unpleasantly checked any rising enthusiasm.

Americans had not in a long time seen foreigners who appeared so neat and brought so much property with them. Various newspapers reported the arrival of the Dutch emigrants; and some accounts "were so exaggerated that one would almost believe the treasures of Peru had been transported to the New World in the boxes and baskets and packs of these people from Holland, which gained strength in many places because the Hollanders usually had to exchange their gold money in order to pay for things." The latter circumstance was also instrumental many times in persuading Americans "to charge us more than they were accustomed to take from Irish or Germans."[47]

Early in June, 1847, the Hollanders commenced their journey from Baltimore into the American interior, finishing the first stage by rail as far as Columbia, Pennsylvania, a town which lay at the junction of two railroads and a canal. Indeed, people traveled from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh by what was then called the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railway — for the construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad from Harrisburg was not begun until 1847 nor completed until 1854.

At Columbia the immigrants were packed "like herrings" into canal-boats and conveyed nearly two hundred miles up the beautiful valleys of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers with their great wooded ridges and picturesque scenery to Hollidaysburg at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains. From there they had the unique experience of being "portaged" up the mountain slope: they were placed in cars, drawn up a series of inclined planes by stationary locomotives, and passing through a tunnel near the mountain-top, they were let down inclined planes on the western slope to Johnstown, a distance of nearly forty miles. Thence they continued by canal down the Conemaugh Valley for over one hundred miles to Pittsburgh.[48]

Having arrived at Pittsburgh from beyond the Alleghanies, the Hollanders continued westward by a route equally historic, the Ohio River, which in those days was the principal means of communication between the East and the Mississippi Valley. Steamboat traffic on this river was then just at the beginning of its greatest prosperity. Through this so-called "Gateway to the West" the Hollanders reached the Mississippi River, which they ascended as far as St. Louis, having covered one thousand miles by steamboat.

Three weeks were consumed in this journey overland to St. Louis. Although the newcomers saw much wonderful scenery and marveled at young America's gigantic strides, they found American methods of travel very unpleasant and fatiguing. Mothers of large families of young children were driven almost frantic. Indeed, the hearts of all the immigrants were constantly filled with anxiety. Nearly three months of ceaseless motion on the journey from their homes in Holland to the American interior had severely tried their patience, and enough had happened "to extinguish their last spark of poetry."[48]

The immigrants were thankful to stop for a breathing spell at St. Louis, for they deemed it best to wait until a site should be found for their colony. All received a glad welcome from the small band of countrymen who had already passed several months in St. Louis. For so many people not enough dwellings were to be found at once; accordingly, wooden sheds were hastily constructed to accommodate them. Then early in July, 1847, in a "booming" frontier city of thirty thousand people, they set about to look for work, "wherein some who like to work were very successful, while others who had formed a picture of America like children have of Cocagne were less fortunate in finding what they did not seriously seek."

Of the eight hundred emigrants who left Holland twenty lost their lives upon the Atlantic, and four are said to have died on the journey from Baltimore. "At St. Louis, however, the number of deaths was larger. The unusual experiences of the trip, the cramped quarters at St. Louis, the extraordinary heat in that rapidly growing city, the irregular and careless consumption of food and drink, and the disregard by some of Dutch cleanliness caused illness and consequent death."[50]

VII

THE RECEPTION OF SCHOLTE AND THE DUTCH IN AMERICA

At Boston Scholte remained just long enough to give his family a few days of rest after the ocean journey. Here he soon perceived that Americans were not only frank in their friendliness but also genuinely concerned about the emigration from Holland. At the same time he records that he failed to find a community of spiritual belief in "that capital of American rationalism."

Scholte next went to Albany where he was openly welcomed by the good Christian people of the city and given an opportunity to preach the gospel to the Hollanders who had but recently arrived from Europe and to the older inhabitants who either could still speak Dutch or merely recalled that it was the language of the founders of their city and State. To Scholte it was a striking experience to be asked immediately to preach God's Word in one of the principal churches in a land where he was a stranger, "while", as he writes, "in the land of my birth most public places for the worship of God were closed to me, and even those who in their homes called me brother in Christ would not have dared to allow me to take charge of services in their churches". Such was the kindness which he received at the hands of ministers in and near New York City and at Pittsburgh that when he wrote about it later, he confessed: "Had I not been bound to our Association, I certainly could not have withstood the pressure of persons who urged me to stay in the State of New York and once more to hold regular services in the Dutch language."

Everywhere among the Christian people of America it appears that Scholte discovered a hearty and wide-awake interest in the emigration from Holland. "I believe", he wrote, "that in general they cherish a too lofty opinion of us. In their conversation and newspapers we are represented as resembling the God-fearing Pilgrims who first settled in the United States. They regard our coming to this land of civil and religious liberty as one of God's blessings on their country. . . . Oftentimes a sense of shame and embarrassment comes over me when I stop to look at myself and our Association, and then consider the high thoughts which people entertain of us, and see that, while the Germans who come here are less highly esteemed, the Hollanders are held in honor and are often placed on an equality with Americans."

And Scholte could testify that the Hollanders received favorable treatment at the hands not only of individual Christians and Christian churches, but also of State officials and State assemblies. For, he said, "I myself had an experience of this sort at Albany, where the legislature had just convened and I wished to look on for a moment. Recognized by one of the members, I was compelled to take a seat in the midst of them. How different from Holland! In the land of our birth branded and treated as a despised congregation, misunderstood by everyone, shoved aside, trampled upon and bruised; in the land of strangers and above all in its most respectable part, honored and treated as a costly gift of God to improve their country!"

At St. Louis where the Americans did not understand the Dutch language and had scarcely thought of Hollanders before, the immigrants were just as cordially welcomed as in the East; and so long as they remained in the city, a Presbyterian congregation allowed them the free use of a spacious basement room for regular Sunday services, providing heat when necessary, and even helping the needy sick. The Hollanders were also permitted to take advantage of the instruction in English afforded by the Presbyterian Sunday-school.

Of their reception in America one of the Hollanders afterwards wrote: "With none too much praise can one speak of the good-will, accommodation, and direct aid with which the Dutch emigrants met at places where they stopped, not least at St. Louis." As for their willingness to help and kindness to oblige, Americans were said to put the Hollanders to shame, and Scholte could say in conclusion: "In this way America speaks and thinks, in this way America treats the Hollanders who were so oppressed in their native land in matters civil and religious that they were forced to leave. That God has done for us".[31]

VIII

THE CHOICE OF A HOME IN IOWA

BEFORE the departure of Scholte and his association from Holland another leader of the Seceders, van Raalte, had established a Dutch settlement in the State of Michigan. Van Raalte wrote to his former fellow-countrymen in Europe that he preferred Michigan to Iowa or Wisconsin because his colony lay near the large cities of Milwaukee, Racine, and Chicago, and the Illinois Canal. It was therefore conveniently situated for eastern and southern markets; besides, railroads were spreading throughout the State, and the large areas of government forest land, though very cheap, were very valuable. Van Raalte further asserted that the climate farther south was very unhealthful, and that upon the unanimous recommendation of trustworthy men he had been obliged to look away from Iowa to Michigan as his choice. As his reasons for selecting timber lands he urged that they were more healthful than fresh-plowed prairie, and demanded from people of small means smaller expenditures of money at the beginning, since they yielded lumber for houses and barns, abundance of work for many classes of artisans, good crops from the clearings, and rich grass for dairy farming.[52]

Van Raalte expressed a hope that his friend

Scholte would also conduct his association to Michigan rather than to Iowa, where he felt convinced the Hollanders could not do so well. Indeed, when Scholte was at New York he received information from the little band of Hollanders at St. Louis that van Raalte had invited them to come to Michigan, but that after some correspondence and the inspection of other lands they had decided not to accept his invitation. Teunis Keppel, one of their number who had been appointed in Holland as a member of the committee to investigate various localities in the American interior, had made a trip to Michigan in order to make a personal examination and prepare a faithful report on conditions there.[53]

During the short time which he spent in cities of the East, before he joined his association at Baltimore, Scholte did not forget the colony founded by his colleague in the woods of Michigan. Indeed, he was forcibly reminded of it when collections of money were taken up in the churches of New York to enable the Michigan Hollanders to build a saw-mill. Not only did Easterners not recommend to him the Dutch settlement of Michigan, but a friend who had journeyed from Wisconsin to see Michigan with his own eyes wrote to Scholte at Albany, alleging that he had been so unfavorably impressed that he returned at once to Wisconsin.[54]

Scholte turned his attention away from the Michigan colony as a desirable region because it lay too far north, because it was destitute of suitable roads and sufficient arable land on account of the dense growth of timber, and lastly because it lay too near the Indians and was too far removed from other settlements of whites. He expressed his conviction that the farmers who had spent their lives in the level haylands and grain-fields of Holland could not accustom themselves to the unusual battle with forests nor find pleasure in the constant presence of tree stumps in their meadows and cultivated fields. As early as May, 1847, Scholte had convinced himself that Iowa or a part of Illinois would be most suitable, but he judged "that a good locality is recommended by telling not what people may do there but what they have done and are doing".[55]

In coming to the conclusion that his colleague's site for a colony was ill-advised, Scholte assured the people that he did not wish to detract from the reports concerning the fertility of the soil in Michigan, nor from the value of the timber land, nor "from the pleasure of hearing the warble of birds in the cool shade of virgin forests"; but he had experienced enough of real life to know that stumps of trees were disagreeable obstacles to farmers. Besides, he felt certain "that the Hollanders who were coming to North America were more prosaic than poetic and consequently thought not so much of pleasing their eyes and ears as of buying suitable land for farms, the easier to cultivate, the better." He knew perfectly well that the farmers who made up the majority of his association were eager to own pastures for dairy purposes, to use plow and harrow on the soil, and not at all inclined "to prefer ax to spade or to become dealers in wood." And in answer to van Raalte's favorable report on the healthfulness of Michigan, Scholte averred that while he was reading some newspaper testimonials at New York advertising a certain kind of pills he came across a letter from the Michigan colony praising the pills and ordering more, and he thereby became "convinced that people there as everywhere else in the world had to wrestle with indisposition and disease!"[56]

The rumor of the coming of so many well-to-do Hollanders preceded Scholte, and no sooner had he reached America than he was stormed from all sides with offers of land so alluring that he was not surprised, he said, if unsuspecting foreigners fell into the snares prepared by speculators. But Scholte was not to be tricked into jeopardizing the future peace and happiness of his followers. Consequently he went to the trouble of investigating as carefully as possible all the opportunities offered by various States. By means of letters of recommendation given him by the American consul in Holland and with the help of influential friends he was enabled to get abundant and reliable information. At Washington the government officials surprised him by their civility and general willingness to serve: they not only answered his questions, but "all free of cost" presented him with printed documents and later sent him a set of maps showing the location of saleable government lands.

Scholte declared that while he was gathering information in the older States he frequently heard the remark that it would be extremely difficult to find unoccupied lands for his people unless they were willing to be cut off from intercourse with all human beings except the Indians. He judged that the attention which they had directed toward the western States as a result of previous investigations conducted in Holland was excellent evidence of God's guidance.[57]

Not until the whole association had reached St. Louis was the last step taken to decide where the Hollanders should build their homes: a committee of investigation, consisting of Scholte, Isaac Overkamp, John Rietveld, Teunis Keppel, and Gerrit van der Pol, set out from St. Louis to select a suitable site for the settlement. There were extensive areas still open to occupation in the States of Iowa and Illinois, but they were so far removed from wood and water as to be quite ill adapted to foreigners unaccustomed to American pioneer ways. The committee of "spies", however, resolved to examine the Iowa lands first, and in case good lands were not available there to visit northern Illinois.[58]

The nearest saleable lands in southeastern Iowa lay in what was called "The Half-Breed Tract", established in 1824 by the United States government in Lee County for the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox Indians and later sold by them to other persons. Scholte had already conferred with the leading men of a New York land company which owned a large portion of this tract, with the result that he had become suspicious of their title. Accordingly, after making a close examination of the state of land titles, the committee was convinced that most of the possessors were not owners and that a purchase from them would only expose the Hollanders to the unpleasantness of law-suits.[59]

The committee thereupon resorted to the United States Land Office at Fairfield, Iowa, where unsold government lands could still be bought or "preëmpted" at $1.25 per acre. Scholte presented a letter of introduction to Ver Planck van Antwerp, a Knickerbocker who happened to be the government Receiver at the Fairfield office. Mr. van Antwerp showed the committee of Hollanders maps of Iowa indicating unsold lands. He also informed them that the best areas had already been occupied and that, although many of the first settlers had not yet paid the government, they were nevertheless protected in their rights because they had worked to bring their claims under cultivation.[60]

Scholte once more exhibited his qualities of leadership when he persuaded the members of the committee that instead of buying the land of settlers who had clear titles and who would, therefore, be loath to sell their farms except at very high prices, the Hollanders should buy out the pioneers who had not yet secured clear titles to their claims. As Scholte had once before expressed it, "a good locality is recommended by telling not what people may do there, but what they have done and are doing".

While the other committeemen went to inspect the country around Fairfield and gain all possible information from the inhabitants, Scholte busied himself with maps in the Land Office. Incidentally he applied to Mr. van Antwerp to recommend a guide — some man who had dealt with American pioneers in the neighborhood and was therefore acquainted with them. Shortly afterward, while attending a child's funeral, Scholte met a Presbyterian minister, through whom he came to know a Baptist who had been engaged for nearly six years as a missionary preacher or circuit rider among the pioneers of southwestern Iowa. This man was Rev. M. J. Post.

When he learned who Scholte was and what he wanted, Mr. Post at once recommended two localities in Iowa as suitable for the proposed Dutch colony, and consented to act as a guide for the committee. On July 29, 1847, before any rumor of their plan could precede them, the committee and guide drove across country from Fairfield a distance of nearly seventy miles to the northeastern corner of Marion County. Scholte later gave the following report of the committee's operations:

> We began straightway [on Thursday] with the man at whose house we had dinner at noon, and with him agreed upon the price of his farm, reserving the right to give him a definite answer not later than one o'clock Saturday, because we wanted to be assured of the other farms first. He gave us a short list of the various settlers, and by constant riding before darkness set in we had every farmer's promise to sell at a stipulated price. Some whom we did not well trust were bound by cash payments in the presence of wit-

nesses. Our work, however, was now but half done, for we had to have access to the Des Moines River also. Early Friday morning we rode thither; there too the settlers suspected nothing, and after coming to terms with each one separately by evening we had bound them all till Monday. Saturday we appeared at the appointed time and place, when written contracts to be executed within one month's time were signed by them as sellers and by me as purchaser. . . .

On Sunday I heard two excellent sermons by our guide and agent; on Monday we signed contracts with settlers near the river; and on Tuesday we commenced our journey back to St. Louis, to convey to the members of our Association the glad tidings that we had found a good place for our homes, and to make preparations for the departure of a first column.[61]

IX

THE ARRIVAL OF THE HOLLANDERS IN IOWA

On July 4, 1846, an Iowa author of note gave expression to the following thought: "Here we behold the emigrant crossing the majestic river with the bible, the axe, and the plough — emblems of peace, prosperity and power. You may point me to Caesar, to the armies of Alexander and Napoleon, triumphant with the laurels of victory; yet history never presented a spectacle half so sublime as the long train of moving emigrants, going forth to consecrate the pathless prairie to freedom and a lofty civilization."[62] The man who penned these words was thinking only of the trains of covered wagons which bore emigrants from Ohio, Indiana, and the States farther east. He made no reference to the fact that at that very time Europeans were crossing the ocean to try their fortunes in the western country.

No sooner had the five committeemen reported their work to the expectant Hollanders at St. Louis than amid general rejoicing they prepared to journey northward. All were eager to reach the end of their tedious travels — all were ready to establish permanent homes upon American soil in a neighborhood which they could henceforth call their own. But impatience did not overwhelm their discretion. Inasmuch as nearly nine hundred persons would find it very difficult to subsist in an almost wholly unpeopled country and since very many of them were engaged in profitable labor at St. Louis, it was deemed most advisable that only the larger part of the emigrant band should go ahead and prepare for the coming of those who were left behind.

Some five or six hundred of the entire body of Hollanders, therefore, bade good-bye to their countrymen and to the Americans who had helped them during their enforced sojourn in St. Louis. They took passage on a Mississippi River steamboat and within two days reached Keokuk, the "Gate City of Iowa". Here they were met by a large concourse of curious persons — some attracted by the rumor of the coming of so many foreigners and others actuated by a keen desire to supply possible needs at extortionate prices. Here also the Hollanders performed the sad duty of burying the bodies of three of their number who had died since leaving St. Louis.

Shortly after their arrival at Keokuk the immigrants were greeted with a deluge of rain which very perceptibly dampened their ardor and delayed their preparations; but after a number of the party had purchased horses and wagons and other things necessary for the journey, bag and baggage were loaded upon the great rumbling wagons of that pioneer day, and then commenced the final lap of a long and wearisome journey half-way across the continent.

Some of the little army of invasion rode, while others were obliged to be content with walking.[63]

As they journeyed from the highly romantic position of Keokuk at the foot of the rapids of the Mississippi River up one of the richest valleys of the West and along the ridge road on the divide between two heavily timbered rivers, the Hollanders beheld a beautiful stretch of green country, the haunt of Indians but fifteen years before and a part of which had been occupied by settlers for only three or four years.

As these emigrants from Holland traversed Mahaska County just before reaching the site of their future colony, they were observed with interest by a pioneer woman who has preserved the following picture of them:

> And when they came along the road with various kinds of teams, we gazed in wonder at their quaint and unfamiliar appearance. Their dress was strange to us. Women were perched on high piles of queer looking chests and boxes and trunks, many of them wearing caps, but no bonnets. Some of the men, and women too, wore wooden shoes.[64]

At last they halted upon the site selected by the committee, being followed a little later by the wagon train of baggage. This was late in the month of August, 1847. Great must have been their disappointment to find that only a pile of boards and two poor log-houses marked the spot where they were now to settle. The contract which Scholte had previously made with certain Americans for the construction of fifty log cabins and for the delivery of a certain amount of lumber before the association arrived from St. Louis had not been carried out at all.

To a people fresh from the older civilization of Europe, the entire absence of satisfactory accommodations and conveniences must have been especially disheartening. To be sure many of them had been accustomed to rural life in Holland, but that life represented a continuity of development since the early years of the Christian era. They had left a soil which had been subjected to cultivation for nearly two thousand years, and they had lived in houses which though small were at least comfortable. Now they were to learn what it was to grow up with a new country — what it meant to conquer a wilderness.

"Imagine a number of bakers, tailors and shoemakers, painters, office-clerks, business managers and such like, who had all their lives been used to the city life of Europe — some of whom hardly knew what a cow or pig looked like, nor had the slightest knowledge of farm implements; who had left neat and comfortable homes and had never known or seen others — imagine such people suddenly transplanted to an open prairie, with here and there some timber, seeing nothing but grass, trees and sky, and finding no protection against the elements!" And the Dutch historian added: "It takes but a few lines to tell it, but to live it is something wholly different."

It was indeed a unique experience for these Hollanders to come from a foreign land, where they had spent their lives closely confined in cities and towns and on small well-kept farms, to the solitude and isolation of life upon the American frontier. They had now arrived upon the boundless expanse of the prairies of Iowa to partake of all the hardships incident to the struggle with a new and strange environment.

But if in that summer of 1847 the Hollanders indulged in no spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm, it was because they could not realize the tremendous latent possibilities of a region which was destined to be transformed into one of the garden spots of Iowa. If the face of nature, as they saw it then, presented none of the features characteristic of their transatlantic fatherland's peasant and urban life, it did not lack the qualities necessary to provide ambitious Europeans with all the material advantages of life. Among the Hollanders who were now to begin years of struggle in Iowa were people "who had the habits and preferences of a well-ordered life in cities of habitation, where the current of existence was tranquil and regular except when disturbed by the storms of war or religious persecution", while others "were for the most part peaceable farmers, whose ideal of earthly felicity was the well-filled barn and the comfortable fire-side."[66]

X

MARION COUNTY AND ITS FARMS IN 1847

THE Hollanders found that the claims and government lands which their leader, Scholte, had purchased lay in the northeastern corner of Marion County in Jefferson and Lake Prairie townships. From the highest point they beheld a vast expanse of undulating prairie covered with long wiry grass and wild flowers, dotted here and there with little groves of native timber, sloping gently toward the dark and heavily timbered valleys of two large rivers, the Skunk and the Des Moines, which flowed southeastward and parallel about ten miles apart. Under a clear sky the landscape extended for many miles in every direction. Then too were visible some of the crude log cabins and other little buildings of the widely-scattered homesteads of American pioneers, and small fields of Indian corn and other grain enclosed in the picturesque, zigzag rail fences of that primitive day.[66]

Marion County lay in a vast stretch of country which had been ceded by the Indians to the United States government in 1842. This immense area, known as "The New Purchase", was not thrown open to homeseekers until May 1, 1843, after the Indians had in silence once more vanished further to the westward. On the 10th of June, 1845, Marion County was established; and though it constituted one of the fairest portions of the Territory of Iowa in April, 1846, it could claim a population of not more than fifteen hundred souls. Its only considerable town was Knoxville, the seat of justice.[67]

In 1847 Iowa City was the State capital, while Fort Des Moines, the future seat of government, had but recently been evacuated by United States Dragoons. The Hollanders had come, therefore, to live upon the outskirts of civilization at a time when the vanguard of hardy pioneers advancing to conquer the great American West had just reached and occupied the central portion of the State of Iowa.[68]

Here upon the western American frontier Scholte secured the title to eighteen thousand acres of excellent land, a very small part of which consisted of the scattered farms of the original settlers, and the remainder of government land, much of which was covered by warrants issued to veterans of the Mexican War as remuneration or reward for military service. A wealthy citizen of Keokuk aided Scholte in buying up these land-warrants for one hundred and sixty acres at from $80 to $100 apiece. Other government land was purchased at $1.25 per acre.[69]

When Scholte and his colleagues visited Marion County to investigate its possibilities, they had only limited authority from the association and insufficient association funds. Scholte, however, did not hesitate to act upon his own responsibility. He purchased not only government lands and the farms, but also crops, stock, and other personal property, being glad to supply from his own purse the necessary money for that purpose because he perceived "the excellent quality and exceptional fertility of the soil and the facility of cultivation".[70]

Scholte took precautions to make his payments of money directly to the United States government in order to be assured of the title to the claims. Thus he insured himself against deceitful speculators. Of course he paid the original settlers, who numbered about thirty, what they demanded as a reasonable return for their improvements on the land. From the amount of purchase-money and the government price he was able to calculate how much the land would cost per acre and what each subscriber's share would be. Lots were drawn to fix the order of land-owners and the numbers of the sections to which each owner was to be assigned, whereupon a surveyor could proceed to measure off the areas for which the members of the association had subscribed in Holland.[71] Such were some of the steps preliminary to the realization of Dutch community life in Iowa.

XI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH COMMUNITY

NEARLY six hundred foreigners in an unsettled country must have presented a scene of great bustle and industry in the late summer and autumn of 1847. First of all they had to provide immediate shelter of some sort; and then they proceeded to erect more permanent, substantial dwellings as a necessary protection against the rigors of an approaching Iowa winter. Of the inadequate quantity of lumber which they found they constructed simple sheds which afforded cover to many families. Other families were housed in the log cabins and other buildings of the American settlers who vacated their homesteads as quickly as possible. But a majority of the immigrants commenced house-keeping in this wild land much after the manner of primitive people.

Shortly after their arrival on September 2, 1847, the Hollanders engaged a surveyor to lay out eight blocks of a new town. Later more space was added; and for many years the streets and the avenues bore the names which Scholte gave them. The streets were called Extension, Addition, Columbus, Washington, Franklin, Liberty, Union, Independence, Peace, South End, University, and Oskaloosa; while the avenues were Entrance, Inquiring, Perseverance, Reformation, Gratitude, Experience, Patience, Confidence, Expectation, and Accomplishment. In Holland it appears that Scholte had prayed that God would "prepare for His people another PELLA, and let the motto of its inhabitants be in truth: In God is our hope and refuge. In Deo Spes Nostra et Refugium."

Pella was platted in order that all persons who wished might build houses at once.[72] Despite the lack of sufficient ready lumber, the first Dutch city-builders in Iowa showed their practical, workday character by using whatever materials nature furnished close at hand. They received an early visit from an Iowa tourist who had lectured with success in various parts of England. This gentleman noticed that "the men in blanket coats and jeans were gone", and that a race of broad-shouldered men "in velvet jackets and wooden shoes" was there, "rejoicing in the antiquity of nearly a month." He saw most of them living "in camps, the tops covered with tent cloth, some with grass and bushes, the sides barricaded with countless numbers of trunks, boxes and chests of the oddest and most grotesque description that Yankees or Hawkeyes ever beheld." [73]

The Hollanders, however, were not satisfied with dwellings so crude, so characteristic of a lower stage of civilization, like Indian tepees. They quickly constructed "dug-outs" or "sod-houses"— so-called because their interior lay partly below and partly above the surface of the ground. Earth was removed to the depth of a few feet, and blocks of tough prairie sod several inches thick were then piled up to complete the upper portion of the walls. Roofs consisted simply of branches covered with prairie or slough grass, straw or reeds; while doors of sackcloth and interwoven twigs, and chimneys built of sod blocks completed the sombre exterior of what came to be called "Strooijen Stad" (Straw Town).

Despite the appearance of these early homes, which indicated a partial but compulsory reversion to a more primitive state of nature, these sod houses in many cases served as human habitations for nearly two years. As makeshifts against exposure to all sorts of wintry weather, these inelegant quarters stood until their occupants were better able to erect more sanitary and substantial houses; and although never entirely water-proof, they provided a considerable measure of comfort and satisfaction, partly due no doubt to the mildness of the first Iowa winter.[74]

Later on, as lumber became more plentiful, frame buildings, both cabins and barns, gradually supplanted the temporary, unsanitary shacks and hovels. Like true American backwoodsmen, the Hollanders quickly learned to thank their rivers for the incalculable advantage of forests of fine hard-wood trees. They found that their settlement embraced a quantity of excellent timber sufficient to supply all needs. But during the early months and years the supply of lumber to be obtained from American-owned sawmills on the Des Moines River was so limited and the demand so great that Scholte availed himself of the water-power of the Skunk River, installed machinery in a mill of his own, and thus early in 1848 began to manufacture lumber for the Dutch colony.[75]

In 1856 the growing city of Pella, beautifully situated on a high and spacious prairie plateau, presented a pleasing view with its rows of simple, wooden houses, interspersed with a few red brick dwellings. Hollanders in the fatherland during the nineteenth century were accustomed to living in brick houses; they shrugged their shoulders and pitied those Americans who were forced to live in flimsy, wooden structures; but inhabitants of Pella declared that they needed no pity because they had learned to find a combination of comfort, convenience, and even beauty in these neat, little dwellings, which were in many respects so desirable that as "to style and general taste they did not need to bow before the low brick cottages of Europe."[76]

Although the city of Pella grew and developed like any other frontier town of the early days, city-building by the Hollanders was not the primary object of their coming to Iowa. Most of the people were farmers, and even those who had never tilled the soil found such abundant opportunity to become farmers that from the beginning the Dutch colony of Marion County was distinctively an agricultural community. It is true, as someone has said, that "a new land offered the opportunity, a wild land presented the necessity, a rich land held out the reward, to men who were eager to do something."

That farming was the first thing to come into notice among the Hollanders as furnishing the best and surest prospects was a matter of course. One man after another, upon getting possession of land, "as quickly as possible harnessed all his united strength to make the earth yield up her rich treasures."[77]

Families of Hollanders entered the homesteads vacated by their first American occupants and at once set about to care for the stock and crops. There was abundant work for all hands to do. Besides the building of cabins and barns, the newcomers busied themselves with general farm duties. They soon discovered the truth of the general American newspaper report that they had settled in one of the best parts of Iowa: they found a soil suitable for the growth of all kinds of products when once the tough prairie sod was broken. On the farms which Scholte had bought grew excellent summer and winter wheat, oats, buckwheat, flax, hemp, and Indian corn, as well as vegetables of fine quality. In the timber grew wild fruits in profusion.[78]

For the live-stock, which American pioneers customarily allowed to roam loose upon the open prairie and in the timber summer and winter, the Hollanders provided some sort of shelter. They were especially pleased with the rich milk of the American cows; and they early convinced themselves that they could produce butter and cheese which not only compared favorably with the best in Holland, but also promised to be of incalculable value to them because the butter and cheese of their American neighbors were quite generally bad and sometimes unfit for consumption. Indeed, the making of butter and cheese became a considerable industry during the early years, and "Iowa Cheese" became famous in the St. Louis market, commanding the highest price. Not only was dairy-farming a popular occupation from the start because the Hollanders had brought all the secrets with them from Europe, but stock-raising also became profitable in the course of time. Especially did the foreigners learn the value of one of America's staple products, the hog, which they had always looked upon as a comparative curiosity in Europe and now came to regard as an asset characteristic and typical of western farm-life. Indeed, early Iowa pioneers allowed their hogs to run loose in the woods, thus foraging for themselves and requiring no attention until they were ready to be fattened when Indian corn was so abundant that they could be quickly prepared for market and sold in the shape of ham, bacon, and lard.[79]

Most difficult for the Hollanders was the task of learning to accustom themselves to the demands of frontier life. Transplanted from Europe to the westernmost point reached by American home-seekers, dwelling upon that "irregular, imaginary line which separated their farm lands and the unused West", they suffered more than Americans who lived under similar circumstances. They missed the ordinary household comforts of Holland and many of the necessities of life, but from the experience of early years they learned to imitate their American pioneer neighbors. Slowly they adapted themselves to their strange environment and a wholly different standard of living; and they soon realized that the problem for them to solve was how to become self-sufficient when their supply of Dutch money gave out.

The Hollanders were not long in discovering that the articles which they had been accustomed to buy ready-made in Holland were manufactured by American frontiersmen from the products of the soil — as for instance bread and other food-stuffs, candles, and woolen and linen cloth for home-made clothing. In the absence of plows some used spades at first and waited patiently until they could obtain such agricultural implements as plows, harrows, and wagons from their Pella blacksmiths who worked night and day; and even then many lacked money enough to purchase the necessary horses or oxen and machinery. It was therefore a difficult problem to make progress without ready money.

Scholte observed that American pioneers got along without much money: "Only when they get money into their hands by selling their claims do they begin to buy, and in that event they are generally liberal in giving or paying. The American people in general understand how to make money, as is well known, but they also have the inclination to be generous in giving it away. That parsimony which is sometimes called stinginess is not a reigning evil with them. They do not turn over a dime four times, as the saying goes in Holland, before spending it, and therefore they get rid of money more quickly, oftentimes too quickly for some Hollanders."[80]

Great must have been the awe with which Iowa's first Dutch settlers regarded that picturesque, nomadic element of the American frontier population, the backwoodsman, who could generally be found upon the crest of the human wave which filled the empty places of the West. These adventurers preceded the rush of emigrants westward, staked out their claims, hunted and fished, cleared and worked some acres of soil for a year or two until the coming of others to their neighborhood. Then, to escape the pressure of advancing emigration, they sold their clearings at a profit, packed their simple belongings into heavy, canvas-covered wagons drawn by horses or oxen, and from pure love of freedom proceeded farther westward to resume their life in the woods or on the plains.[81]

Scholte, leader of the Dutch immigrants in every branch of activity, set up a lime-kiln and a brick-kiln at an early date, thus furnishing labor to masons. Bakers, tailors, shoemakers, painters, office clerks, business managers, and others — all were represented in the Pella population, but most of them found their trades and occupations superfluous among people of simple tastes. Hence they adapted themselves to the situation by learning to till the soil as a means of support. But "the hands of many who were city bred and skilled in everything but agriculture went wrong when it became a question of making a living on the naked prairie."

In the month of March, 1848, Scholte wrote as follows:

> The ordinary day's wages is fifty cents for the laborer, one dollar for the artisan. In general the Hollanders know very well how to receive American wages; some are not ready to acquire the American habit, that is, to work fast. A few, who do not care for work and imagine that people can get a living in America without exertion, find themselves badly deceived, since here too God's universally established rule applies: In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.
>
> Four men returned from here to St. Louis, men of whose wrong principles people here are generally convinced. Two of them, after gadding about for some time and molesting the colony, ended by entering military service in Mexico. A few other persons, who seem to have thought that by means of a magic wand one could cause suitable houses to rise up out of the ground just as in fairy tales, complained of the hardships, as the people of The Netherlands may have noticed in their newspapers; but these have already expressed their grief for being so obstinate, and now entertain opposite opinions. Some now own land and stock, but their quantity of money has diminished so that they shall have to learn for the first time how to succeed in the American way, that is, to do much with little money: whether this art can be learned quickly and well, the future will tell.[82]

Unacquainted with the language, pioneer conditions, and ways of America, the first Dutch settlers of Iowa plodded along with the grim determination and patience characteristic of their nation, and gradually but painfully submitted to frontier Americanization.

XII

YEARS OF PRIVATION AND SUBSEQUENT RELIEF

During the first four years of their history in Iowa the Hollanders underwent many novel experiences, but nothing more disastrous than the winter of 1848-49. Unfamiliar with the extraordinary extremes of Iowa weather, they had deceived themselves into believing that the mild winter of 1847-48 was the rule and not the exception. They had continued to work outdoors with bare hands, and had paid little attention to their live-stock which ran loose in the woods and on the prairies.

In the spring of 1848 they had been introduced to a genuine Iowa windstorm with its attendant havoc and destruction: buildings in course of construction were razed to the ground. Thus began their acquaintance with storms of cyclonic severity. After passing a favorable summer and reaping a harvest sufficient to supply the colony's needs, without having taken precautions to provide food and shelter for their stock, they suddenly found themselves in the midst of a winter such as few Iowans have ever endured before or since. From November in 1848 to May in 1849 snow covered the ground at an average depth of three feet, and for weeks the temperature remained twenty degrees below zero.

Unprepared for this intense cold, Dutch farmers lost much live-stock and with the utmost difficulty husked a small quantity of their snow-covered crop of Indian corn. Fuel was scarce and difficult to obtain, while journeys to the mill were tedious and burdensome. Then in the spring of 1849, to aggravate the winter's disastrous losses, came the flooded rivers and miry sloughs from which half-famished animals were too weak to extricate themselves.[83]

Financially the Hollanders were on the whole practically destitute in 1849. Even those who had pursued farming with good results considered themselves poor in the midst of plenty, because they lacked a convenient market for their surplus products. So great was their discouragement that many thought seriously of giving up and seeking a more satisfactory location. Then relief came in two unexpected ways.

During the year 1849 about two hundred and fifty Hollanders came fresh from Europe to seek homes in Pella. Many of them were members of the association organized in Holland in 1846, and it is said that their hearts were in Pella after Scholte and the eight hundred found land for the colony. Very many of them were well-to-do, and some at once bought out American pioneers who had refused to sell their farms to the first Dutch settlers. The arrival of so large a body of newcomers meant the consumption of surplus products and this in turn brought money into circulation. Many adopted and stimulated business life in Pella, paid cash for what they bought, and also made loans to the needy.

If the coming of so many Hollanders helped to infuse new spirit into the Pella community, even more of a godsend was the mad scramble of Americans westward to reach the California gold fields, reports of the finding of which spread like wild-fire in the autumn of 1848. In the spring of 1849 commenced the rush of Easterners, which proved to be a veritable "El Dorado" for the Hollanders of Marion County. For a period of three months covered wagons rumbled ceaselessly through Pella, and though the gold fever soon subsided, for a number of years a steady stream of emigrants continued to flow through Pella, some in search of gold in California and Colorado, others, like the Mormons, to build homes in Oregon and Utah.

An eye-witness, a Hollander, thus described the "call of the West and the lust for gold" as evinced by the caravans which came from the East by the road through Pella:

> They came in all sorts of ways. Many wagons were drawn by six, eight or ten yoke of oxen. Some were drawn by cows; most people had two teams of horses or mules hitched to their decorated covered wagons, which were generally provided with stoves, and no one lacked fire-arms except the man who undertook the journey with a wheelbarrow whereon he bore his supplies. If we had not seen it with our own eyes, we should have doubted the truth of this. He had his place in the long train of wagons and made way for no one. We noticed later that the wheel-

barrow man arrived in California. The train of wagons was many times so long-drawn out as to fill the entire street from east to west. The number of well-behaved persons among the trekkers was very small; most of them were coarse and disorderly.

Those who remained on their Iowa farms and furnished the fortune-hunters with necessary food and other articles gained immense profit from the thirst for gold. One Dutch farmer who lived upon the Iowa route declared:

> We sold the trekkers to California all we had, and bought up more from our neighbors who lived farther from the road. We sold a bushel of corn for one dollar, a bushel of oats for one dollar, a bushel of wheat for one dollar, 100 pounds of hay for one dollar, everything for one dollar: that was easy to remember. A yoke of oxen brought from $50 to $55; a cow from $20 to $25. The trekkers, however, could stand it. Some had cooks and negro servants. A man from Davenport came with 350 head of cattle. He had two more herds of the same size, altogether 1,000 head, on the way.[84]

Thus it will be seen how marvelous was the influence of newcomers from Holland and of "forty-niners" from eastern States. The former came to begin life anew, and providing for their various needs revived the zeal and industry of the Dutch settlers who had struggled hard for over a year in town and country. Gold-seekers left much money among the Hollanders who did not hesitate to charge them what were extortionate prices for that day.

XIII

HOPES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

One of the principal drawbacks, if not the greatest, of early frontier life in central Iowa was the absence of convenient markets and suitable means of exporting farm products or importing articles for farm and household use. Neither railroads nor steamboats had yet reached Marion County.

The only agency of regular communication with the outer world at first was a United States post-route and post-office. When the Hollanders arrived upon their newly-purchased lands, the American settlers were accustomed to get mail at an office on the Des Moines River, but when the postmaster sold his farm to Scholte, his office came to an end. "Recognizing the need of a post-office," wrote Scholte, "with the other members of our Council I wrote at once to Washington requesting, with an assignment of reasons, that the old office and route be removed to Pella, at the same time recommending a competent person for the postmastership. We received a speedy and favorable reply and the necessary authorization." The Hollanders were thus enabled to obtain mail twice a week from the eastern States and from relatives in The Netherlands. They also received assurance that another post-route to the county seat would be relocated in such a way as to pass through Pella.[85]

But in the matter of establishing commercial and trade relations with such distant markets as Keokuk and St. Louis the Hollanders, like most other Iowans, experienced no little inconvenience. To be sure, their agricultural products found ready consumers in the increasing population of their neighborhood — a cause which continued to afford a market at every man's door for two or three years. But when they had surplus products, such as grain and pork, or if they had money and desired to raise their standard of living, they needed access to larger markets.

The city of Keokuk, one hundred and twenty miles away, situated at the foot of the Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi River, had become one of Iowa's most considerable ports and places of business. Steamboats for the transportation of passengers and merchandise plied regularly in large numbers between New Orleans, St. Louis, and Keokuk, where goods destined for points farther north had to be unloaded and conveyed over the rapids in light keel-boats.

In the early development of the vast resources of Iowa the Mississippi River came to be the most important agent. As the main avenue of trade, it placed the pioneers of Iowa in direct touch with the markets of the world. Grocery supplies, farm implements, mill machinery, dry goods, and hardware were shipped by sea from New York City to New

Orleans and northward, or by the Ohio River route to St. Louis, and thence to the Iowa country.

The most reliable means of communication between Keokuk, the "Gate City of Iowa", and Pella was the State Road — an excellent highway running along the ridge between the valleys of two rivers. In 1848 this road was extended by law to include the nearest and most direct route to Fort Des Moines. And until about the year 1865 this thoroughfare was used for the transportation of Pella products to Keokuk and St. Louis and of manufactured goods to Pella. As a means by which merchandise could be received and produce exported the overland route was long and tedious; at the same time the Hollanders found it better than the roads of Holland, except after heavy rains. Under ordinary circumstances they paid seventy-five cents per hundred pounds of freight, and $1.12½ per hundred pounds when the road was at its worst.[86]

Shortly before the Dutch settled in Marion County Congress gave ear to the agitation in Iowa in favor of the improvement of the Des Moines River. Farm products of the Des Moines Valley had increased to such an extent that some rapid export route became absolutely necessary. Accordingly, in 1846 the government took what at the time promised to be one of the most important steps ever taken to develop Iowa's resources: all alternate sections of land in a strip five miles wide on each side of the Des Moines River from its mouth to its source were granted as an appropriation to provide for a system of slack-water navigation from Keokuk to Fort Des Moines.[87]

One year after Congress made such munificent provision for the internal development of Iowa, Scholte and his association of Hollanders indulged in the expectation that, since one-half of the distance to be made navigable had been surveyed and the sites for dams and locks had been selected, the expense of transportation to and from Pella in the future would be greatly lessened and the means of transportation would be facilitated.

Hardly had the town of Pella been platted when Scholte was requested by his American neighbors to lay out another town to be called Amsterdam. To this request he assented by selecting some land on the banks of the Des Moines River at a point where the stream was easily forded, where a dam and lock would later be necessary, and where a considerable harbor was expected to grow up on account of its position half-way between Ottumwa and Fort Des Moines. When the river should once be made navigable for ships and steamboats, this town promised to become the port of Pella and vicinity: "the recollection of what Holland's Amsterdam once was and of what the American Amsterdam (now called New York) is coming to be induced us to give this place in Iowa the same name, since it was both of Dutch origin and also intended for trade." And it was also hoped and suggested in 1848 that as soon as regular navigation became possible on Iowa's greatest river, a small body of water, called Lake Prairie, east of Amsterdam would present unusual opportunities for the construction of factories run by water-power.

Two years later, in 1850, a store opened at Amsterdam; many people bought lots and built houses; while two brick-kilns and a lime-kiln made the town temporarily of some importance. But in the midst of promise came the memorable floods of the spring of 1851. A blight settled upon the hopes and prospects of the promoters of the young city when they began to perceive that the improvement of the Des Moines River was an ideal never to be realized. High water at once revealed how stupendous and impracticable was the task of rendering the Des Moines River navigable. Furthermore the position of Amsterdam upon the river's banks proved to be unhealthful: this fact retarded its growth. Indeed, the great Dutch name is no longer on the map of Iowa: only corn fields mark the spot where Amsterdam was expected to rise.[38]

Although steamboating on the Des Moines River continued to appeal to Iowans of that day and several boats succeeded in navigating the uncertain channel at different times, as a means of transporting produce to southern markets the river route failed dismally to satisfy the needs of the settlers. The man who probably ranked next to Scholte as the most public-spirited citizen among the early Dutch settlers in Iowa was A. E. D. Bousquet. He met with serious reverses in his efforts to make the Des Moines River a suitable outlet and waterway. In the flood year of 1851 he and other Pella merchants conceived the idea of shipping great quantities of corn down-stream in flat-boats to St. Louis. Their venture was only partially and accidentally successful and their plan was henceforth abandoned as impracticable.

Two years later Bousquet organized the Des Moines Steamboat Company, and again he met with disappointment. It was written of him that he "loved the new country in which he had cast his lot; for its prospects seemed golden to his eyes. He had considerable means . . . . and deemed it the better part to spend his money in developing the country rather than in buying great quantities of land and making himself rich by advancing prices . . . . 'If I should do this I should be as great a curse to my community as the eastern speculators!' " He also undertook to lay a plank-road from Keokuk to Pella, and is said to have completed from twenty to twenty-five miles.[89]

Railroad agitation in the years immediately following Iowa's admission into the Union reached the Hollanders of Marion County and led to no little speculation among them. They prided themselves on the advantageous situation of their colony when it became generally known that Pella was to be only fifteen or twenty miles southwest of the recently chosen site for the State capital. Certain State commissioners had been appointed with authority to select a place nearer to the geographical center of the State of Iowa than Iowa City then was.

Inhabitants of the Des Moines Valley had been especially interested in the removal of the seat of government from Iowa City, and as a consequence of the general dissatisfaction and agitation the commissioners caused five sections of land near the southern boundary of Jasper County to be surveyed, platted into lots, and sold at public auction during the latter part of October, 1847. They called the new capital Monroe City. The Hollanders, who perceived the advantage of living so near, were greatly disappointed when the work of the commissioners was later rendered null and void. When the agitation in favor of relocating the State Capital revived the Hollanders themselves for many years petitioned the State legislature to locate the seat of government at Pella, Scholte offering to donate land to aid in the construction of State buildings.

After Monroe City had been selected as the site for the new capital of Iowa, talk of a railway from Dubuque to Council Bluffs became more insistent, causing the Hollanders to hope and believe that Whitney's proposed railroad across the continent would either pass through or at least very near Pella. Further hopes were raised when dissatisfaction was expressed concerning the situation of the county seat at Knoxville. Indeed, many American settlers urged this as a reason why Scholte should lay out the town of Amsterdam, convinced that if the matter ever came to a vote the people would undoubtedly select this place as the seat of justice.[90]

Such were some of the hopes and aspirations of the Dutch inhabitants of Iowa during the first five years of their residence in the State. In every instance time revealed that anticipation was more pleasant than realization; but despite their disappointments the Hollanders plodded along and grew in strength and numbers.

XIV

EARLY PROMOTION OF IMMIGRATION TO PELLA

Most memorable in the history of emigration from Holland to America are the years 1846 and 1847 because they mark the beginning of an exodus which has never abated and which resulted in the founding of the prosperous Dutch colonies in Michigan and Iowa. Thousands of Hollanders have since found homes in all of the north central States. An examination of census statistics reveals the fact that in 1850 there lived in Iowa 1108 foreign-born Hollanders, 2077 in 1856, 2615 in 1860, and 4513 in 1870. These figures are by no means surprising; indeed they are rather disappointing when compared with those for Michigan. The northern State succeeded in luring more than twice as many Dutch immigrants to her forests as Iowa attracted to her fertile prairies during the same period.

One reason assigned for Michigan's large Holland-born population is the fact that the families which followed van Raalte were for the most part poor but ambitious people, and for such it was easier to get a start in Michigan than in Iowa. Financially the Hollanders of Iowa were better off: Scholte is said to have led "the flower of the Dutch emigration of that day". The vast majority of Dutch immigrants were destitute and therefore were compelled to settle where they could get lands for almost nothing. Michigan's boundless timber tracts furnished the majority of the poor laborers and peasants with just what they wanted, while Iowa's prairie lands in the neighborhood of recent settlements were not within reach of their depleted purses.[91]

Another reason for the extensive settlement of Michigan by Hollanders as compared with that of Iowa is probably to be found in the nature of the two leaders themselves and in the character of what may be called their advertising methods. It is a noteworthy fact that both men encouraged their fellow-countrymen to flee from the Old World and come to a land where the honest workman was openly welcomed and easily enabled "to earn and eat his own bread".

Early in 1847 van Raalte wrote a lengthy letter to a friend in Holland describing the colony which he had just founded. The letter was printed in the form of a pamphlet entitled "Holland in America, or The Dutch Colony in the State of Michigan", and it was offered for sale to the Dutch public. Van Raalte furnished an excellent account of his new home, his reasons for selecting timber land, a statement of general economic conditions in America, and he suggested the best routes of travel for prospective Dutch settlers. Incidentally he declared that trustworthy men had unanimously urged him to go to Wisconsin or Michigan rather than to Iowa, where much sickness prevailed owing to an unhealthful climate. In short, the pamphlet was an excellent advertisement written in attractive style and intended to convey the information which prospective emigrants needed.[92]

In March, 1848, Scholte wrote his first letter from Pella and had it published in pamphlet form to be sold among the people of Holland. He told about reading van Raalte's account of the climate of Iowa, and went on to say that when he arrived in America he obtained an entirely different impression. After informing the people of Holland how well he and his followers had been received in America he explained why he preferred Iowa to Michigan. He asserted the claims of Iowa and expressed the brightest hopes for the development of his colony in Marion County. To Scholte's credit it may be said that though he was aware that attempts were being made in Holland to exalt Michigan above Iowa, not by producing simple facts but by giving false colors to affairs and conditions, he never undertook to detract from the strength of Michigan's appeal, gladly admitting that friends who wrote from that State were quite satisfied with their choice.

As to his own object in publishing letters about the Pella settlement Scholte said that he desired to give a short but truthful account, neither colored nor filled with a description of the wonders of Iowa. "Always repelled by exaggerated reports from America", he wrote, "I am now all the more opposed to them, because I have seen the tragic results of such excited writings in the miscalculations and disappointments of our people upon coming face to face with realities. You doubtless must have read many letters which revealed a picture more attractive, more stimulating to the emotions than mine; but I feel obliged to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, without giving it a color of my own. I shall not invite you to leave Holland and come to us: you have to know and to decide that for yourselves."

Scholte wrote his letter of March, 1848, with a view to attracting the attention of Holland's wealthy Christians. Thousands of oppressed persons wanted only the opportunity to make a living, but they lacked the means necessary to pay the expense of a journey to America. Scholte therefore called upon the rich to do their duty — to help the poor by furnishing the necessary money at reasonable interest, and thus enable them to get a foothold on American soil.

In November, 1848, appeared Scholte's second letter from Pella, with contents just as interesting and encouraging as those of his first pamphlet. But the people of Holland were frankly warned not to be unduly influenced by what he wrote: they were urged to come of their own accord, upon genuine reasonable grounds and without unreasonable anticipations — for in the latter case they would be disappointed like certain mischief-making persons who, after leaving Pella, had settled in St. Louis and there advised all newcomers from Holland to go to Michigan.[93]

Scholte chronicled the arrival of many families a Pella. They had experienced all sorts of tempta tions and allurements before they finally reache Iowa. At New York and other places, such as Bu falo, they met persons who did their utmost to frigh en all Hollanders away from Iowa and to lure the to Michigan. This policy was pursued not only b men directly interested in the Michigan colony, bu also by the agents of speculators in that State wh held vast areas of land for sale. These speculator finding themselves unable to sell to Americans, trie in every possible way to induce foreigners to sett in Michigan, hoping thus to increase the value of the own lands.

Somebody advised Scholte to station an agent New York in order that he might better spread reli ble information among incoming Hollanders, but made this characteristic reply: "I could not deci upon such a practice, because I was firmly convinc that the growth of our Colony was not depende upon the efforts of human beings, that I had giv sufficient information in Holland about our Colon and therefore I would leave the rest to God's gui ance." Scholte, therefore, contented himself wi giving a short account of the social, political, a religious conditions at Pella, general informati relative to the journey to America, advice as to wh might be brought from Holland, a statement of t prices of lots at Amsterdam and Pella, and a summary of the routes leading to Iowa.

Hollanders of that day were recommended to take the easiest and cheapest route direct to New Orleans during the spring or autumn; or, upon arriving at New York they could take a steamboat to New Orleans and another up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, whence they could proceed to Keokuk, Iowa. The most advantageous overland route lay from New York to Buffalo, Erie, Beaver, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. It was also possible to go by way of Buffalo, Chicago, and the Illinois River. During the summer of 1848 a railroad was completed between Sandusky and Cincinnati so that homeseekers could travel by steam all the way from New York to St. Louis.[94]

The Governor of Michigan at this time urged that everything possible be done by the State legislature to extend to the colony of Hollanders not only tokens of welcome and encouragement but also evidences of the State's fostering care. Much was thus done to direct immigration to Michigan. Iowa, the youngest State in the Union, made no organized effort to attract settlers to her vacant lands until many years later, though the General Assembly did not hesitate to make a concession similar to that made by Michigan, allowing the Hollanders a township organization of their own.[95]

Newspaper men in Holland, favorable to the government of their day, were not ashamed to publish articles in which emigrants to America were placed in a false light, while certain Christian people of Holland are said not to have refrained from creating a wrong impression as to the character of the people who were emigrating. Despite all attempts to stop the movement toward America, the time for emigration was ripe, and every year since 1847 Hollanders have emigrated to Iowa.

XV

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF DUTCH IMMIGRATION TO IOWA

EARLY in the spring of 1848 most of those who had been left to spend the first winter at St. Louis took leave of their generous American friends, engaged passage on a steamboat to Keokuk, and after spending nearly three weeks on the way, owing to heavy rains and impassable roads, joined their fellow-countrymen at Pella. During those first years the Pella colonists exerted every effort to procure the transportation from Holland of all the members of the association formed at Utrecht, and they succeeded in inducing many to leave the fatherland during the years 1848 and 1849 — some coming direct to Iowa, others stopping for a time at St. Louis.[96]

For the year 1849 there were recorded the names of two hundred and fifty Dutch immigrants who later settled in Iowa. They suffered the same hardships as their predecessors on the six weeks' ocean voyage, one man losing three children by death before he could reach Iowa. Many of the immigrants did not come straightway to Pella, but broke the journey by tarrying in eastern States. Very many of them were persons of wealth and education, accustomed to leadership in Holland. Cordially welcomed to the modest

Pella homes they began life in the West with a degree of comfort unknown to the first comers of two years before. These immigrants were a desirable addition because they brought the capital which alone could assure further progress in the colony. The years 1850, 1851, and 1852 brought very few Hollanders to Pella. The national census figures for 1850 gave practically all the Holland-born inhabitants of Iowa, 1108 in number, to Lake Prairie Township in Marion County.[97]

Especially noteworthy in the history of immigration to nearly every part of Iowa were the years immediately following 1852. This is true also of Pella and vicinity, since the largest accessions to the Holland-born population of Pella were recorded during that period. In 1853 and 1854 there came nearly 100 and 250 Hollanders, respectively, while the names of 270 persons were added to the list during the year 1855, 330 in 1856, and 135 in 1857.

In the month of May, 1856, Scholte expressed himself as follows on the subject of immigration:

> We had this week a good addition to our population by emigration from Holland. Able-bodied men and healthy women and children have arrived with the intention of making Pella and the surrounding country their home. The majority are not rich, in money, nor do they come out of the poor-houses or prisons of the old country. They are just the people we need, rich in physical power, and willing to work and to improve the country. . . . We congratulate the State of Iowa upon such additions to their population. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Pella and

Lake Prairie Township are foreigners by birth . . . . but you will hardly find a place less obnoxious to a decent American-born citizen. More emigrants are on the road from Holland to Pella. Americans from older States, too, seem to have some preference for this part of the State, and are investing their money in real estate in Pella and vicinity. We are very well pleased with our share in the immigration, which materially promotes our interests. Not only real estate is rising moderately, but every kind of business is increasing, and we have no doubt but eastern merchants are already convinced that it is not unimportant to have connections with Pella.

A glance at the census returns for 1856 reveals a foreign-born population of 2119 Hollanders in thirty-one counties of Iowa. It is of passing interest to note that the cities of Burlington and Dubuque contained about twenty-five Hollanders each; that Peru Township north of Dubuque had thirty-seven; while Keokuk, the "Gate City of Iowa", had almost one hundred and fifty. Fourteen hundred and eighty inhabitants of Lake Prairie Township told the census enumerator that their birthplace was "The Netherlands", while forty-four answered that their birthplace was "Friesland" (a province of The Netherlands). This reply may be taken as characteristic of "De Vrije Vries" (the free Frieslander), for he has always shown a strong feeling of national pride and independence. Ever since that day a neighborhood northwest of Pella in Summit Township has been called "De Vriesche Buurt".

As early as the year 1856 the Dutch immigrants had begun to find the original place of settlement, Lake Prairie Township, too small for their accommodation. Many were forced to locate in the townships immediately to the westward, either as independent farmers or as hired men and domestics on the farms of American settlers. Not only did this advance spread westward in Marion County, but it also extended eastward into Black Oak Township of Mahaska County, where dwelt about ninety Holland-born settlers. Southeast of Marion lay Wapello County, where the census returns gave Green and Columbia townships twelve and seventeen Hollanders respectively. It will thus be seen that the Dutch were securing a foot-hold not only in Iowa's larger eastern cities, but also in townships adjacent to the site of the original settlement.[98]

New accessions to the Pella colony for several years after 1858 were almost negligible. The Dutch chronicler preserved the names of only 30 persons for the three years 1858-1860, and recorded the arrival of only 71 newcomers during the years of the Civil War. The United States census returns for 1860 gave Iowa 2615 Holland-born inhabitants. When peace had been restored, immigration revived and 44 Hollanders came in 1866, 69 in 1867, 53 in 1868, 115 in 1869, 67 in 1870, 46 in 1871, and 7 in 1872.

According to the United States Census for 1870 thirty-five Iowa counties contained no foreign-born Dutch, forty-one of the remainder had less than fifteen each, and twenty-three had more than fifteen. Benton County had 29 Hollanders, Butler 21, Dubuque 111, Grundy 56, Hardin 46, Humboldt 44, Jackson 746, Jasper 33, Jefferson 38, Lee 258, Mahaska 318, Marion 2077, Muscatine 185, Plymouth 15, Polk 21, Pottawattamie 16, Scott 46, Sioux 133, and Wapello 55. The number in Dubuque County had increased since 1856, as had also been the case in Lee County. But especially significant were the increases in Jasper and Mahaska counties to the north and east of Marion County. Plymouth and Sioux, adjacent counties in northwestern Iowa, now showed a Dutch population for the first time. The number in Wapello County had also increased, while the number ascribed to Jackson County can not be accounted for. Lake Prairie Township in Marion County contained a Holland-born population of 1892; while a majority of the 3066 native-born inhabitants were Dutch by descent. One-tenth of the foreign-born Dutch in the United States in 1870, or a total number of 4513, lived in the State of Iowa.[89]

XVI

PROSPERITY AT PELLA

The years of the decade from 1850 to 1860 were years of prosperous trade conditions in the Pella colony. With an abundance of work, high wages, and good prices for produce, few people complained of poverty. Townspeople and farmers, all began to realize profits from their investments after many years of waiting. From year to year the city of Pella spread out in every direction. Although unfamiliar at first with the soil and with American agricultural implements and unused to the severity of the climate, Dutch farmers by their zeal and industry rapidly attained to a prosperity such as they never could have achieved in The Netherlands. In meager circumstances when they left Holland, many became in America men of considerable wealth.[100]

Pella, however, was not destined to remain a place of settlement for the Dutch alone. A German with his family accompanied the Hollanders from St. Louis in 1847 and at once engaged in business. He was followed by other enterprising Germans, many of whom as business men played a noteworthy part in improving and building up the city. Moreover, a few French families came to Pella.[101]

One of the greatest boons to the city was the decision of the Iowa Baptists in 1853 to found a college in Pella. Central University, as it was called, attracted numerous families of Americans. Indeed, by the year 1860 so many Americans had found homes at Pella that the population of the city was about evenly divided between Dutch and Americans.[102]

Not all the original American settlers of Lake Prairie Township sold their claims to the Hollanders in 1847. A number, moreover, remained in adjoining townships until they sold out to newcomers from Holland, when they entered business life in Pella. The Hollanders were thus enabled to come into close relations with American farmers and American business men — neighbors who gave generously of their store of knowledge gained from years of experience in pioneer methods and ways. Many American farmers gladly furnished lodging to those of the first immigrants who needed it, and many Hollanders by working as hired men for Americans obtained an acquaintance with the methods of American agriculture which stood them in good stead when they began farming for themselves. The names of the original American settlers were long held in grateful remembrance among the first Dutch pioneers.[103]

In 1856 certain letters were written in Dutch on "The Hollanders in Iowa". They contained a very complete account of the resources and condition of Iowa, and were apparently intended to attract emigrants from Holland by giving them to understand just what sort of a State Iowa was. The writer, whose name has always been shrouded in mystery, described Pella in 1856, informed his fellow-countrymen about the progress of the youthful Dutch colony, and assured them that in America more than anywhere else in the world every man could find work to match his talents and enjoy life according to his industry: employment was open and inviting in every branch of activity, and agriculture was remunerative and profitable. He showed the certainty of reward which had attended the efforts of industrious Dutch immigrants in a fertile country where land was abundant and therefore cheap, and where the wealth, dignity, and power of the government were based upon the prosperity of the people.

Pella resembled all the towns of this western wilderness for many years and had no easy time establishing and maintaining physical orderliness. Scholte's English garden was famous throughout the countryside for its beauty, and people came miles to see it. His walnut grove became the place where annual old settlers' reunions were held. Garden Square with its pretty shade trees was also attractive; but in general the log cabin or frontier stage of society prevailed for many years among the Dutch settlers in both town and country. It has been well said that "nature's ways are different from man's ways; she is reluctant to submit to his control; she does not like to have her hair trimmed and her garments confined; she even communicates to man, in his first struggles with her, a little of her own carelessness, her own apparently reckless and wasteful way of doing things."

In 1855 Johnson County and Iowa City were congratulated at Pella for having taken the commendable step of voting in favor of a "hog law", whereby owners were compelled to keep their hogs locked up or run the risk of seeing them impounded. An editor at Pella bemoaned the fact that Marion County had no such law and that Pella was not incorporated as a city, and added: "It is a great drawback to this and other inland towns that stock of all kinds throng the streets, giving the town limits the appearance of a monstrous stock farm." One year later the same writer made the following announcement: "The only corporate building is a hog pen, in the western part of the city, for the use of the City Marshal, to shut up the snoring and grumbling loafers about town."

The "Gelderschman" author of the letters of 1856 explained how the Hollanders had grown prosperous in farming and business in America and referred to the recent growth of population. He told of the incorporation of the city of Pella and of the first election of city officers — all of whom were Dutch except the mayor and three councilmen. A German was then justice of the peace; an American and two Hollanders, Scholte and Henry Hospers, were notaries public; and a Hollander was postmaster.

In 1856 Pella prided herself on three church congregations — Baptist, Methodist, and Christian Reformed. Poor-house there was none. *The Pella Gazette* was edited and published by Scholte and Edwin H. Grant. Americans owned the hotels. Of the doctors, three were Americans and two were Hollanders. Druggists were evenly divided between the two. Nine out of fourteen stores and four out of seven blacksmith shops were Dutch-owned; while Germans monopolized the hardware business. Besides ordinary artisans there were two Dutch wagon-makers, three coopers, several wooden-shoe-makers, while carpenters were legion. Pella also claimed several saw-mills, three on the Des Moines River, two near Pella, and one on the Skunk River. Two new corn-mills now relieved farmers from hauling their loads long distances. Three brick-kilns and two lime-kilns were also mentioned, and in conclusion the writer said of Pella: "We pride ourselves on not having those pest-holes, saloons, in our midst."

About this time a citizen of Pella, looking back over the years since the Hollanders had come to Iowa, wrote these lines:

> About eight years ago the spot where I am now sitting down to write appertained to a farm, then occupying a portion of the place where Pella now stands. How different the appearance of the surrounding country at that time from what it is now! Then two poor log houses might be seen on the ground which constitutes the town of Pella. The greatest part of the surrounding prairie was lying waste, with only here and there a solitary farm, established by some of the first pioneers who settled in the center of the State. Now here is our flourishing town, favored with a pictur-

esque and promising situation, and vieing in population, prosperity, and above all, in neatness, with the most thriving places of Central Iowa.

The time when we had to be satisfied with the mere necessities of life is gone. Our dwellings have ceased to be subservient to the single purpose of sheltering us from the inclemency of the weather, and both the outward and inward appearance of many of them bears the marks of refined taste.

Furniture, suited to the wants of refined civilization, is taking the place of the simple necessaries, which were used in the first stage of a new settlement, and our stores furnish us not only with the comforts, but also with the luxuries of life.

Those of our citizens who are afflicted with sickness, can obtain anything that is capable of relieving their pain in two thriving drug-stores, and such as are thirsty for knowledge may gratify their taste by calling at as many book stores and a public library.

The Preparatory Department of a University, which is being established by the commendable efforts of some of our most worthy citizens, offers a chance for thorough education in the various branches of science, and, to crown the whole, a paper, favored with an extensive patronage, announces the results of our enterprises, advocates our interests, and guides our endeavors to improve our social and moral conditions.

It is no less gratifying to cast a glance at the lands which surround our town. The country, which is spread out before my window, and which eight years ago exhibited nothing but one monotonous green plot, now presents a lovely and motley mixture of houses of every description, fences, trees, shocks of corn, hay-stacks, green and open

> fields. In every direction your eye perceives the richest farms, and where the prairie has not been cultivated yet, you are pleased to see herds of the finest cattle finding abundant food in the grasses and herbs which our fertile soil produces spontaneously. Nor need we limit our attention to agriculture, for our stone quarries and coal mines are worked extensively, and several steam saw-mills, brick-yards and lime-kilns testify the enterprising spirit of our population.
>
> A man who visited this country eight years ago and sees it again in its present state, must expect to see a fairy [tale] realized, and the rapid growth of our Western towns almost seems a miracle to the native of Europe, where the age of villages and cities is counted, not by years, but by centuries.[104]

That Pella was not an out-of-the-way place was further shown by the fact that Pella lay on the stage route from Burlington via Fort Des Moines to Council Bluffs. But the Western Stage Company did not serve the public acceptably as is evident from the country editor's complaint:

> We notice with pleasure that considerable additions have been recently made to the stock on this road. They have been needed badly. For some time past the station between this place and Oskaloosa has been abolished, making a drive of eighteen miles. And in the other direction, they are said to frequently run twenty-four miles without changing. This will wear out stock very fast, and the increased amount of travel demands better accommodations. Eight new teams and three stages passed through this place, a day or two since, which will relieve that difficulty materially.

But even so the editor had no kind words for stage coaches in which, he asserted, "a man can neither stand, nor sit, nor lie down, but in which his body is squeezed and distorted into the most unnatural attitudes; which have windows too small to look out of them in the daytime, and just enough chinks and apertures to let in the cold, damp air at night, and which — laying claim to speed — travel at the rate of four miles an hour."

Improvement of the Des Moines River channel proved to be an empty dream. The stormy career of this wonderful project having come to an end, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa in 1853 appropriated an extensive area of land in the Des Moines valley for the construction of a railroad. Railroad construction in Iowa was very much retarded by the panic of 1857 and the Civil War. By the month of August, 1859, the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad reached Ottumwa, forty-three miles from Pella; but it was not until the month of January, 1865, that the first locomotive on the Des Moines Valley Railroad appeared in Pella, though the hopes of Pella's citizens had been raised to a high pitch many times before when surveying parties mapped out the route.

Much jubilation prevailed among the Hollanders when Pella secured a railroad connection with eastern markets, because business men had for years depended on the hauling of goods from Keokuk with ox or mule or horse teams. The completion of a railroad through Pella to Des Moines in 1866 was placed to the credit of enterprising Keokuk citizens. People of the surrounding country came from far and near to sell their produce and buy necessities or luxuries in Pella, until Knoxville welcomed its railroad in 1875. Then business fell off to some extent; but the Hollanders of Pella and vicinity were generally satisfied, because their lands and property had more than doubled in value.

For a quarter of a century the Hollanders had lived and worked together in Iowa. They had assimilated much that was American; but throughout they retained their qualities of thrift and industry. Holidays and festive occasions in which all participated had been few. To be sure they honored the Fourth of July, but not without the singing of Psalms. During the winter, like true sons of Holland, they enjoyed skating races for prizes on the lake near Amsterdam. When the month of August, 1872, arrived, the pioneers of Pella made preparations for a jubilee celebration. On the morning of the 28th of August they assembled at church, engaged in prayer, joined in the singing of Psalms, listened to addresses of a historical nature, and then sat down to a big church dinner, which was followed by choir music and more addresses in the afternoon. Such was the quiet observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coming of the Hollanders to Iowa.[105]

XVII

ENCOURAGEMENT OF DUTCH IMMIGRATION BY THE STATE

It is a fact peculiar to later American history that most western States have taken a more or less active part in promoting immigration to land within their borders. Legislatures have repeatedly provided for the machinery necessary to advertise the resources of their respective States in order to enhance local prosperity by inducing homeseekers to invest their capital and lives in unused lands. Except for a few years the State of Iowa seems never to have taken a keen interest in the dissemination of printed information relative to its excellent natural advantages. Only once was provision made for the circulation of advertising material in foreign countries, and yet Iowa could not complain that her lands were too slowly occupied by settlers, whether from the eastern States or from Europe.

The bulk of the population of Iowa in 1880 was American-born. About one-half of the inhabitants were born within the State, while the other half consisted chiefly of natives of Ohio, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Wisconsin, Missouri, Virginia, and Kentucky. Foreign-born inhabitants composed about one-fifth of the entire population. These facts are cited to show that Iowa was probably content with the immigration of native Americans and probably preferred not to enter into competition with other States for the attention of foreigners.

Although Iowa as a State failed to encourage immigration, other agencies such as railroad corporations, land companies, and speculators more than did their part to advertise the State; but the operations of these agencies were restricted as a rule to the United States and English-speaking countries, where they were largely successful. During the years of the Territorial period and the early years of Statehood the promotion of immigration was left entirely to private enterprise.

Chief among the factors which attracted the attention of Hollanders to Iowa were two pamphlets written by Scholte, the founder of the Pella colony. That these interesting but true accounts of Pella were widely sold and read in Holland can not be said with certainty, but prospective Dutch emigrants who were at all interested in Scholte's leadership of the Separatist movement in Holland must have eagerly looked for his letters. Pella colonists also reported their experiences to friends and relatives in Holland, and no doubt urged many to emigrate to Iowa. For instance, Sjoerd Aukes Sipma had his "Important Reports from Pella" published at Dokkum, Friesland, in 1849.

The Dutch booklet on Iowa and Pella, published in 1858, must also have exerted considerable influence on the emigration movement in Holland, though the writer denied any intention to make Iowa appear preferable to any other part of the United States. "No, people of Holland," he declared, "Pella need not offer the slightest inducement to lure you within her borders. Year after year a respectable host of Hollanders as well as Americans enters unsummoned and uninvited, and all without the usual advertisements generally scattered around America by land speculators and others. Unlike her sister colonies in Michigan and Wisconsin, Pella has no agents in New York and other ports to attract emigrants by means of fine-sounding descriptions. . . . The man who is interested in land has only to consider how land has risen in value here; the laborer, how many hands are busy here; yet this does not mean that both can not still find work with profit."

The "Gelderschman" who published his letters in 1858 declared to the people of Holland that much opportunity still existed for the establishment of other Dutch colonies in northeastern and northwestern Iowa, where the State was less thickly populated than in Marion County. He suggested that an association be formed in Holland to arrange with trustworthy persons in Iowa or Pella as to the place of settlement. "Pella acquaintances could be of the greatest use", he said, "since they are thoroughly familiar with the best way to establish such a colony and select the finest lands, and also know where government land can still be secured." For such a settlement the best prospects were opened. The appeal, however, went unheeded for it proved to be premature.[106]

In 1856 the Iowa House of Representatives adopted a resolution, not without Republican opposition, that five hundred copies of Governor Grimes's biennial message be printed "in the Holland language for the use of the House". In 1858, several thousand copies of the Governor's message and of the inaugural address were ordered printed in the English language, about two thousand in the German language, and five hundred in the Dutch language, while the Norwegian language was slighted. In 1860 also, and biennially thereafter until 1870, one thousand copies of the Governor's message and address were ordered to be printed in Dutch. A further resolution was passed to the effect that "H. P. Scholte be employed to translate and superintend the printing"; while one month later the same house resolved that Scholte be required to report "whether he has translated said message, and printed the same, and if so, why they are not placed upon the members' desks for distribution."

Though these messages and inaugural addresses of the Governors were printed ostensibly for the use of the legislators themselves, they were intended primarily for gratuitous distribution among the Dutch inhabitants of the State and for further circulation in other Dutch-speaking communities. For example, in 1862 Henry Hospers was employed to translate the Governor's message for "publication in the Holland paper at Pella, provided it can be done at an expense not to exceed $25." Thus the Governor's resumé of conditions in Iowa could be widely scattered and brought to the knowledge of foreigners at home and abroad, but the profit therefrom can not have been far-reaching as a means of promoting immigration.[107]

During the first three or four decades in the history of Iowa the State made a poor showing in the matter of attracting immigrants from foreign countries when compared with other western States. In Wisconsin laws had been passed authorizing the appointment of a commissioner of immigration to reside in the city of New York for the purpose of giving immigrants necessary information relative to soil, climate, and branches of industry to be pursued with advantage, and to protect immigrants as far as practicable against the impositions often practiced upon them.

As early as 1852 and 1854 Governor Stephen Hempstead urged the legislature of Iowa to adopt Wisconsin's attitude towards foreigners who might wish to become citizens of Iowa. He deplored the fact that some Americans perceived danger in foreign immigration, declaring: "They are generally industrious — purchase, settle upon and improve our lands, rear their homes, educate their children with ours, become attached to our laws and institutions, and assist in the defence of the country in times of peril." [108]

Not until 1860, while Samuel J. Kirkwood sat in the Governor's chair, however, did the State of Iowa give its official sanction to the appointment of an officer to reside for two years at New York City and thus compete with other western States. At the end of his term, Lieutenant-Governor Rusch, the first Immigrant Commissioner of Iowa, urged in his report, which was accepted, that his office be discontinued because it was of no advantage to the State. He had learned that most immigrants had selected their points of destination before landing at New York, and in his opinion, the only way to inform foreigners of the resources of Iowa was to reach them before they left Europe. He called attention to the good results obtained by emigrant companies and by the Illinois Central Railroad Company through agents in Europe, without expense to the State of Illinois. He added, furthermore, that foreigners needed no State commissioners to protect them from fraud because the New York State authorities had found impositions and robberies so numerous and unbearable that a landing-place for all aliens had been established at Castle Garden, and from this landing all agents and runners were strictly excluded.[109]

In his biennial message of 1870 Governor Merrill recommended that something be done to diffuse information relative to Iowa in foreign countries, as neighboring States had systematically and successfully done for many years. A Board of Immigration of six members, two of whom, E. Mumm of Keokuk and C. Rhynsburger of Pella, were Hollanders, was accordingly created "to do all, and everything, which may and will enhance and encourage immigration" to Iowa. This board through its secretary prepared a pamphlet of ninety-six pages entitled "Iowa: The Home for Immigrants", which was translated into the German, Danish, Dutch, and Swedish languages. Five thousand copies were printed in Dutch.

The board commissioned five men to act as agents in Europe — among them Henry Hospers, Mayor of Pella. The latter went to Holland late in the year 1870, and for over two months put forth his best efforts to aid, promote, and advise immigration to the State of Iowa. When he returned to America, the board appointed a reliable resident agent in Holland to distribute documents and promote the welfare of emigrants generally. Thus for the first time Iowa was competing on equal terms with her sister States for a share of European emigration.[110]

XVIII

A BEE-HIVE READY FOR SWARMING

"PELLA and vicinity already [in 1854] showed signs of much competition, and yet there still lay extensive areas which the plow had never touched. Armed with the imagination of a Munchausen, one would not have wagered the prophecy that scarcely fifteen years later the land would be over-populated according to the American's way of thinking, and the bee-hive would be ready for swarming."

These are the words of a gentleman who left Holland in 1854 and made his home at Pella. The constant arrival of fresh accessions of Hollanders and Americans since 1847 had so increased the population of the Pella colony that many persons began to think of emigration to some spot farther west. In 1856 a citizen who was particularly concerned with the lot of the Hollanders advised the establishment of a Dutch settlement in some less crowded portion of Iowa.[111]

In the year 1860 Henry Hospers, an influential citizen of Pella, had occasion to spend a few weeks at St. Joseph, Missouri, where he saw hundreds of people crossing the Missouri River and emigrating in loaded wagons to seek homes in eastern Nebraska. He observed "that all who had the nerve to settle upon the prairie found what they so eagerly desired"; and on his return to Pella he discussed with many men the possibility of migrating to Nebraska. Indeed, plans were made to raise money with which to purchase land, but nothing was done at this time.

Nevertheless, the need for emigration became more pressing as time went on. During the years 1867 and 1868 Jelle Pelmulder, a Frieslander by birth, took up the emigration plan with zeal and earnestness, entered into correspondence with land officers, obtained much information, and in every way "with Frisian thoroughness gave the emigration ball a fresh start". He has been called the originator of the plan to purchase land for a colony in northwestern Iowa.[112]

That the colonization fever was rapidly spreading throughout the Pella colony is evidenced by the fact that after the formation of an emigrant association the forty-four members appointed a committee of three to visit Texas, while a second association focused its attention upon Kansas. The three committeemen sent out to investigate the Lone Star State fell into the hands of a trickster at New Orleans, were relieved of their money, and returned to Pella with only a long tale of woe for their trouble. A few families succumbed to the Kansas enthusiasm, invested their money in that drouth-ridden land, and many returned to their Pella homes thoroughly disappointed. Others went to Oregon and Nebraska with the same result.[113]

Although there may have been some consideration of the subject of emigration during the year 1868, it was not until the month of March, 1869, that public meetings were held at Pella, and largely attended, for the purpose of discussing colonization in northwestern Iowa. Henry John van der Waa, deciding that land prices and rents at Pella were too high, had written to a land agent at Storm Lake, and being informed that there were homesteads enough for himself and all his friends, he at once decided to sell his Pella property. With that idea in mind he went to the office of Henry Hospers to have auction bills printed. When Hospers learned what his friend intended to do, he wrote to the agent at Storm Lake. Upon receipt of a favorable reply he read the letter to van der Waa, with the result that they called a meeting to be held a few weeks later "for the purpose of starting a colony."[114]

This simple incident led to combined action on the part of those who were dissatisfied with conditions at Pella. Most enlightening in all matters pertaining to emigration was *Pella's Weekblad*, edited by Henry Hospers. Through the columns of this paper the movement was well advertised from the first. At the fourth public meeting in Pella the following resolution met with unanimous approval:

> Whereas, a general need is felt that we should provide for ourselves, our fellow-countrymen, and the ever-increasing emigration from our fatherland, and that we should secure a suitable region where all may find an abundance of cheap land and opportunity for agriculture on an extensive scale; and

> Whereas, we all deem it very desirable to dwell by ourselves in a society or community compatible with our national character as Netherlanders, where Netherlanders may find a hospitable welcome;
>
> Resolved, That we use our utmost endeavors to find a place in the northwestern or any other part of this State where we may obtain sufficient and suitable farm lands at a reasonable price; and that we invite to them the attention of our countrymen.[115]

The first step towards emigration, therefore, came at a time when the Hollanders had lived in Marion County just twenty-two years. This part of the State of Iowa was beginning to be overcrowded; and it is a fact worthy of note that the population of Marion County has been stationary since 1870. It is true that all available lands had not yet been occupied: indeed, hundreds of acres still lay untouched. But the movement to secure more abundant and cheaper land sprang from the greed of Marion County's land speculators, who had placed a prohibitive price upon their land.

Some years later an observer wrote that the Pella colony was favorably situated, the soil was extremely fertile, and beneath the surface lay rich and accessible coal mines. He added:

> Though the young city's bloom was promoted by its being taken into the net of railways, undoubtedly the chief cause of its prosperity was the persevering and untiring industry of the Dutch inhabitants. The population became larger and larger, and the colony spread in all directions. A large part of the land, however, was occupied by Ameri-

cans. As population increased, the price of land climbed higher. In 1847 the price of broken prairie land ranged from $2.50 to $5.00, and twenty years later it was set at from $40 to $60. And since the prices of produce had not risen correspondingly but had remained comparatively stationary, one can easily see why farming as an occupation became less lucrative. The increasing population also made it more and more difficult to get possession of a farm.

By the year 1869 those who were children in 1847 had arrived at a marriagable age. Young men who desired to own farm estates of their own saw the way practically closed to them in Marion County. They disliked the prospect of holding farms at high rents with no assurance that they would ever save enough to enable them to buy land for themselves. As the heads of growing families, how could they and their children ever advance in the world when high rents and high prices obstructed the path? Hence many Pella farmers were driven to look elsewhere, eager to apply their limited means and willing hands to the cultivation of cheaper soil.[116]

XIX

THE INVESTIGATION OF NORTHWESTERN IOWA IN 1869

No sooner had the resolution to emigrate been passed than the prospective emigrants appointed a committee of three trustworthy, practical farmers to visit northwestern Iowa and decide whether a Dutch settlement would be practicable in that region. At the same time every member of the emigrant association was taxed three dollars to pay the expenses of the committee. Later they selected a fourth committeeman, who consented to act "if the association would get some one to take his place on the farm". The prospective emigrants also agreed to pay a certain member of the committee one dollar per day for the use of his span of mules for the journey.

Having fitted out a "prairie schooner" with necessary camping apparatus and supplies, the following men departed from Pella on Monday, April 26, 1869: Sjoerd Aukes Sipma and Jelle Pelmulder, two Frieslanders by birth, aged fifty-six and fifty-two respectively, Hubert Muilenburg, Sr., aged forty-seven, and Henry John van der Waa, a young man who had come to Pella with his parents during the first years of the settlement. While on the trip Pelmulder despatched several interesting letters to the

Dutch newspaper at Pella. From their camp in the timber south of Nevada in Story County he wrote: "Coffee nearly ready, bacon frying in the pan — we are hale and hearty. Roads so bad we travel slowly. Greet our families and friends."

From Pella the committee proceeded by way of Newton, Iowa Center, Story City, and Webster City, and then joining a long train of emigrant wagons followed the line of the Illinois Central Railroad to Fort Dodge, encountering swollen rivers and creeks and muddy roads. At Fort Dodge they halted for a day or two, just long enough to discover that the country in the vicinity was unsuitable for their purposes. They had intended to go north into Emmet, Palo Alto, and Kossuth counties; but at the land office they learned that homesteads in that direction were scarce and devoid of timber. They therefore continued westward to Storm Lake through Calhoun and Pocahontas counties with their scattered settlers, following the stakes which marked the route of the Iowa Falls and Sioux City Railway. Nearly the whole distance from Fort Dodge to the north bank of Storm Lake was a roadless stretch of country to which people had but recently been attracted. The committee very carefully took note of where the best land lay.

At the lake the committeemen spent Sunday with a Methodist preacher who had been sent as a missionary to the two hundred or more pioneers of Buena Vista County. Finding the land to the north of Storm Lake very good, but taken by homesteaders, they followed an old government road to Cherokee—a distance of about twenty miles, most of which was a treeless, houseless expanse of prairie land with a number of little streams. The whole population of Cherokee County at that time consisted of but four hundred and fifty-nine people, and what is now the city of Cherokee consisted of a group of small houses, a stockade where soldiers had been stationed, and a store, the keeper of which was very talkative and friendly in his reception of the Hollanders from Pella. "He too was already a land-agent as is nearly everybody else who can write and knows what a section of land is."

From Cherokee to Melbourne in Plymouth County the homeseekers traversed forty miles of prairie country as beautiful as any they had ever seen; but not a single settler's homestead appeared in sight. About ten miles west of Cherokee they examined the soil, sub-soil, water and drainage, and found everything so satisfactory that they decided to recommend that region as the best site for a colony, provided one or two townships of land could be obtained.

On the road westward the committee met numerous persons with teams and wagons going to or returning from the Sioux City land office. The rumor of free and fertile lands had begun to attract crowds of people to northwestern Iowa. One night while sleeping in their wagon near the road, the men from Pella were awakened by the loud barking of their dog as two men noisily drove past: "they were rushing to Sioux City to forestall other persons who wanted the same homesteads." Everywhere the land was of good quality and well adapted to the purposes of a Dutch colony, except that the settlers would be dependent on railroads for their fuel and lumber.

The committee rested on Sunday, the 9th of May, near Melbourne, a prosperous farming community of about one hundred and eighty persons in the valley of the Floyd River. Upon the invitation of a German minister's wife, who furnished them with religious tracts, all attended services and listened to a sermon which "we, being Hollanders, could not understand at all".

Two weeks from the time they had left Pella the four Hollanders reached Sioux City, a "booming" western town already the home of a government land office and destined soon to be a busy railroad center. They hastened at once to inquire about land, but so great was the throng of homeseekers who had collected before the office doors were opened at nine o'clock that they waited until noon before they could speak with the officer in charge. So eager were some men in their desire to outstrip others for the same land that fights were frequent and foot-races were run for first choice.

By special arrangement, on that same day the Pella men gained admission to the land office after dark, entering by way of the back door. They declared their intention to report favorably on land from ten to fifteen miles west of Cherokee on both sides of the railway survey. "When our purpose became known," wrote a member of the committee, "the gentlemen showed much willingness to serve, and I believe we were very welcome: they would have rejoiced to see our colony in the neighborhood of Sioux City." The committee, however, could do no more than speak of intention, and the officials could only inform the Hollanders that they might buy land sufficient for large colonies in Cherokee, Sioux, O'Brien, and Lyon counties.

Immediately upon the return of the committee to Pella, after a wagon journey of nearly five hundred and fifty miles, all prospective emigrants were summoned to a meeting on the first of June, 1869. Two hundred Hollanders attended, and listened eagerly to the glowing report of their committee, who "could not find words enough to describe the beauty of northwestern Iowa, especially the neighborhood of Cherokee." At a subsequent meeting in June prospective homesteaders made their first declaration before the county clerk and signed applications for homesteads; authorized the distribution of homesteads by lot; subscribed for sixty ten-dollar shares in a town-site; decided to call the proposed town "New Holland", and to allow Henry Hospers one-third of the land on the town-site; and finally they resolved to despatch a second committee to the site of the proposed settlement and to pay Henry John van der Waa $2.50 per day for the use of his mule team. Eighty-six Pella farmers signified their desire to obtain homesteads, and thirteen others were prepared to buy from eighty to four hundred and eighty acres of land outright. They subscribed for several thousand acres in all.[117]

XX

THE CHOICE OF SIOUX COUNTY

Late in the month of June, 1869, the second committee of four was appointed with authority to make a definite choice of land for a colony, and to secure the land in accordance with the requirements of the national homestead and preëmption laws. Moreover, they were authorized to select and buy a town-site, and to do everything that was necessary to advance the colonization plan of the prospective emigrants from Pella.

Of the committeemen — Leen van der Meer, Dirk van den Bos, Henry John van der Waa, and Henry Hospers — three made the journey to Sioux City with mule-team and covered wagon. Hospers went by rail by way of Des Moines and Council Bluffs in order to make a preliminary study of maps in the land office and procure all necessary information. He wrote from Sioux City that his "train was loaded with emigrants thirsting for land, land, land." When they had arrived at Sioux City, the committeemen were greatly exasperated to find that their plan to buy land a few miles west of Cherokee had been frustrated by speculators, who had gobbled up all that region with the hope of selling it to the Hollanders at a handsome profit. Despite this disappointment, the committee resolved to do the next best thing: since the Hollanders of Pella desired a large area exclusively for themselves at government prices, they would pass by the speculators in Cherokee County and examine Sioux and Lyon counties where government and railroad lands were still abundant.

At Sioux City, therefore, the four men loaded their covered wagon with provisions calculated to last during a three weeks sojourn on the prairies, engaged a surveyor, and set out northward to explore the northwestern counties. They traveled the road to Junction City (now called Le Mars), where they found only one small store building, and then followed the banks of a stream, the Floyd River, for about fifteen miles to the southern boundary of Sioux County. Except for the homes of three or four pioneers they saw neither dwellings, trees, nor roads — only a series of gently rolling swells of beautiful prairie land clothed with its wealth of green buffalo grass and wild flowers of every kind.

The appearance of Sioux County early in July so impressed the Pella prospectors that without the slightest doubt or hesitation they unanimously declared: "Here is the place!" With map and surveyor's compass as guides they sought and found the corner stakes of the government sections, measured off two townships, selected a town-site six miles north of the Plymouth County line, gave the locality the name of "Holland", and took possession of thirty-eight sections of land. After throwing up small mounds of earth in the new townships to mark the way back, the party returned to Sioux City. There, in a surveyor's office, they apportioned the land among the prospective colonists in the following manner: section numbers and names of homesteaders were written on separate slips of paper and placed in separate boxes; for each section number a name was drawn; and the drawer became entitled to the northeast quarter of the section and also to the choice of relatives whom he wished to have settle on the adjoining quarter-sections. After this work was done three members of the committee returned to Pella, while Henry Hospers remained at Sioux City to make sure that the necessary papers were prepared and filed according to law and that affidavits were deposited in the name of the various Pella homeseekers.

By the United States homestead law of that day a duly qualified person could obtain either eighty or one hundred and sixty acres of government land according as the land lay within or without the range of a railroad land grant. In Sioux County every alternate section of land, designated by odd numbers, for ten sections in width on each side of the line of the proposed road had been granted by Congress in 1864 to the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad. Much of the land selected by the Hollanders in even-numbered sections was situated within ten miles of the proposed railroad, and hence each prospective homesteader was entitled to only eighty acres.

To obtain a homestead it was necessary to file an application and affidavit with the Register of the Land Office at Sioux City, at which time the claim took effect, and thereupon the applicant was required to make his home upon the land. After five years of settlement and cultivation, or within two years, upon satisfactory proof to the Register, a patent or complete title-deed was issued to the settler.

Congress provided a second method by which a title to government land could be obtained. By the preëmption law, the person who desired to "preempt" rather than "homestead" was obliged to settle on one hundred and sixty acres of land, and within thirty days to file at the District Land Office his declaratory statement as to the fact of settlement, appear at the office within one year, make proof of his actual residence on and improvement of the land, and at the time of "proving up" secure the title either by filing a warrant duly assigned to him or by the cash payment of $1.25 or $2.50 per acre according as the land was situated without or within the limits of a railroad land grant.[118]

XXI

A GLIMPSE OF SIOUX COUNTY IN 1869

NO SOONER had the committee reported at Pella than the emigrants prepared to make a brief preliminary visit to their homesteads in Sioux County. Early in September, 1869, seventy-five men in eighteen wagons, with three surveyors and sufficient provisions, journeyed to the site of their future farms nearly three hundred miles away, labored for a week or two surveying and plowing in compliance with the law, and then returned home, thoroughly convinced that they had seen the finest land in the State of Iowa.

No words could better describe the appearance of northwestern Iowa than those of an eminent visitor from Holland:

> Road is—to be honest—mere euphemism here, a figurative expression, a sort of poetic license; as for a highway, there was none or just a trail. The boundless prairie lay spread out before us, and driver and horses knew their course. 'Twas a ride not without its peculiar enjoyment. True: it was bitterly cold in the wind which swept unobstructed from the North. I could only imagine how very different things must be in summer when the thick, soft carpet of dark green grass appears dotted with flowers of all colors; but even so, despite the barrenness, wildness, and monotony of the scene, yea by reason of these, there is some-

thing grand and awe-inspiring in the landscape. Nothing impedes or interrupts the view, whithersoever one looks. No hill or rock, not even a house or tree, not a single sharp line. Nothing, absolutely nothing but the vast, broad prairie! And yet it is somewhat different from the single horizontal line which describes our low, level meadows in Holland: an endless succession of irregular, undulating slopes which seem to extend one's circle of vision indefinitely.

There is an inexpressible charm, something solemn, mysterious in the nature of the landscape which speaks to the imagination and even to the heart. It awakens a consciousness such as that aroused by a view of the ocean; yes, in a certain sense it is even stronger here. There, in boundless space is the unending monotony of restless water; here, over the vast but motionless waves, petrified as it were, reigns a deep, solemn stillness, emblematic of peace and immortality, but also of fresh, free, invincible power. Indeed, there is poetry in the view, and I realize now why the Arab waxes enthusiastic over the desert; I understand now why the poetical soul of such a person as Miss Currer Bell loves the monotonous heath of North-England more than the most picturesque landscape. I can almost explain what people here say of a settler of the prairies, who complained of being stifled when he caught sight in the distance of smoke rising from the chimney of a "neighbor" who had located twenty miles away!

Though its establishment as a county dated back to 1852, Sioux County lay too far away from every beaten path between the East and the West to attract any serious notice at this early date. Like its neighbors Plymouth, Osceola, and Lyon counties, it consisted simply of prairie, with hardly a tree to be seen. What could a pioneer accomplish without timber for logs, fence rails, fuel, and boards? Sioux County also lacked railroads. It is not strange, therefore, that homeseekers had found no great inducement to lay out farms on the bleak prairies. As a matter of fact, in 1869 it was only on the heavily wooded banks of the Big Sioux River, the western boundary of the State and county, that settlers were to be found. Here a small village called Calliope had sprung up.

Before settlers made their appearance in northwestern Iowa nothing certain is known of its history. That man had ever had a fixed abode on those beautiful prairies there was not the slightest trace; but bones, scattered here and there upon the earth's surface or half-buried in the soil, proved that herds of buffaloes, elks, and deer had grazed there from time immemorial, and suggested that tribes of Indians might have hunted and departed again to their wigwams in some other region.[119]

Census statistics gave Sioux County a population of 10 inhabitants in 1860, estimated the number at 25 and 20 in the years 1863 and 1865, at 18 in 1867, and at 110 in 1869, when Buncombe Township, which was established sometime before 1861, embraced almost the entire county. The same census for 1869 credited Lyon and Osceola counties with no inhabitants, O'Brien County with 51, and Plymouth County with 179, while the counties just to the east were only a little less sparsely settled.

But if Sioux County in 1869 lacked everything except fertility, its inhabitants and others interested in its future knew that within another year a railroad would reach Le Mars about eighteen miles away, and that they might soon expect a second railroad to place them in touch with St. Paul and Sioux City. Then exploitation of the soil would promise great rewards. It was, therefore, a matter of but a few years before Sioux County would have all the means of transportation and communication possessed by older communities.[120]

XXII

THE PLATTING OF ORANGE CITY

DURING the winter months of 1869 the selection of Sioux County as a site for a new Dutch colony received much publicity in the Dutch newspapers of America, and especially in *Pella's Weekblad.* Henry Hospers wrote many articles to encourage interest in the colonization movement. As the leader of the emigrant association, he assured people that the progress and development of the new settlement in Sioux County was bound to be phenomenal, because there was no land under the sun more fertile. All winter long the favorite topic of conversation at Pella was emigration, and careful preparations were made for the approaching journey.[121]

In the spring of 1870, in the months of April and May, Henry John van der Waa headed the first emigrant train of five families to northwestern Iowa, completing the journey in nineteen days. A second train consisting of several families of Frieslanders was piloted by Jelle Pelmulder. Leen van der Meer and Dirk van den Bos conducted a third group, while other families of Hollanders followed during the spring and summer, some even coming from distant Chicago, so that during the year sixty-five or seventy families settled upon Sioux County homesteads.[122]

In this way commenced the settling of the virgin prairies of northwestern Iowa. The favorable situation and fertility of land in the vicinity of Pella, the presence of coal mines, a railroad and good markets, and above all the industry and thrift of the Dutch inhabitants — all had conduced to the purchase of unsold Marion County lands by speculators who hoped that as the population of Pella and vicinity increased they might reap profit from the Hollander's growing thirst for good land. Had Americans not prematurely raised land prices, the Hollanders of Pella would have made themselves masters of an area of country much more extensive than that occupied to-day. Young married men just starting out in life and many other ambitious men were forced to look toward the vacant public lands of Sioux County for better things, and thither they steered their ox and horse teams, driving herds of cattle before them, eager to set up homes for their wives and children.

Numerous pioneers who had lived in or near Pella since 1847 left the comforts of their town and country homes to undergo once more the discomforts connected with the reclamation of a new country. For some months they lived in tents and used their covered wagons for sleeping purposes. Despite the fact that the new colony possessed railroad connections at Le Mars about eighteen miles to the south — a convenience which Pella had lacked for seventeen years — many of the Sioux County pioneers either had no desire to haul lumber so far or else they considered frame dwellings beyond their means, for after spending several weeks preparing the rich soil for the first season's crops, they began to build houses as far as possible without lumber.

Five months after taking possession of their lands the Sioux County Hollanders still lived for the most part in "dug-outs" or sod houses such as many of them had first become acquainted with in Marion County. Some found their wagons sufficiently comfortable during the warm summer and autumn weather, and so continued to devote all their time to ploughing or "breaking" their prairie farms, the main object being to get them in readiness for seeding in the spring of 1871. Few colonists lived in frame houses during the first year.

To recall the nature of the first human habitations upon that vast stretch of rolling prairie region, now dotted everywhere with commodious houses and barns sheltered by groves of trees, reveals much of the community life of those enterprising Dutch pioneer fathers of Holland Township. Usually a dugout was constructed upon the eastern or southern slope of a hill to secure protection against northwestern blasts in winter. Excavations were made and four walls of thick prairie sod were then raised to an equal height and a roof of long slough grass was added. Generally these sod houses had two openings, one to serve as window and the other as door, both of which required an outlay of little more than one dollar.

In most cases, it is said, "these homes consisted of but one compartment which served as parlor, living-room, dining-room, bed-room, kitchen, and cellar. The more elaborate houses had one room partitioned off by a sod wall, which did service as a bed-room where berths were arranged along the wall sometimes two or three above one another. The furniture of these homes was also very simple and limited: a dry-goods box placed in the center of the room was often used as a wardrobe, a cupboard, and a dining table. The walls were so dug out that a seat all the way round about the height of an ordinary chair was left: this obviated the necessity of buying chairs. The fuel of those days consisted of slough grass, very ingeniously and tightly twisted in order to last longer in the fire."

Happiness and contentment reigned within those simple homes to no small degree. Good-will and kindly feeling prevailed among their occupants. "When any one was in distress or in need of aid, all joined hands; and when most of them were about equally penniless and unable to offer their empty purses in rendering assistance they found some way to serve one another. They helped build each other's houses and barns; they watered each other's cattle; they took charge of each other's children . . . . and assisted in every kind of work."[123]

In such inartistic huts most of the first settlers lived for many months, because the expense was trifling and no less because they had no time to build more substantial houses. House-building stood second upon their program: prairie-breaking came first. Some of the settlers were fairly well-to-do financially; most of them, however, had sunk their limited wealth into the soil. Their chief capital at the outset was willing hands, which they were glad to apply without stint to the production of an excellent harvest, after which they would plan bigger and better things.

As the winter of 1870 approached, and sheds, cribs, and fuel came into demand, the Hollanders found that they must either go to Le Mars about eighteen miles southwest, a station on the Iowa Falls & Sioux City Railroad, or else journey with teams and wagons to the Rock River twenty-five miles to the northwest, since the supply of willows and boxelders upon the banks of the Floyd River had been exhausted. The colonists chose to haul their firewood, logs, and posts from the river without cost rather than go into debt by paying handsome prices to the lumber dealers at Le Mars. A few squatters in that region of Sioux County, claiming to be owners of the land, met the Hollanders with pitch-forks and axes, but these weapons did not deter the Dutchmen from getting what they wanted: they would not be thwarted after making such a journey through blizzards and freezing weather. The squatters, therefore, adopted other methods: they removed bolts from the wagons while the Dutch settlers were busy chopping. But the meanest thing perpetrated by them was to put powder in pieces of firewood so that explosions frequently occurred in the cook-stoves of the Dutch housewives.[124]

Merchandise and other products of the civilized world were hauled overland from the railroad station at Le Mars. Hollanders who became county officials in 1870 and 1871 were obliged to travel on foot twenty-five miles westward to the county seat, Calliope, to attend to county business: snow-drifts and the absence of bridges made progress with teams and wagons well-nigh impossible, and walking in the winter time was warmer, more comfortable, and more rapid.

In the year 1870 the colonists saw fit to perpetuate a name which Hollanders have always carried with them wherever they have settled, whether in North America, South America, Africa, or Asia. The Dutch immigrants who founded Pella had suffered so much at the hands of King William and his government that they were in no mood to remember the name of Holland's Prince of Orange by inscribing it upon the map of their settlement in Marion County.

The founders of the Dutch colony in Sioux County, however, had forgotten the persecutions instigated by their Prince, and like all Hollanders they prided themselves on being "Orangemen": they recalled the political cry of their ancestors, adherents of the House of Orange-Nassau, "Oranje boven!" (Orange forever!) Accordingly, the title of the Dutch royal house, obtained originally from the city and district of Orange about twelve miles north of Avignon in southern France, was placed upon the map of Iowa as "Orange City", in Holland Township.[125]

When the emigrants organized their association at Pella in the spring of 1869, they decided that all who wished might subscribe ten dollars in order to become entitled to a share in the site of a new town to be laid out in Sioux County. At first they considered it best that Henry Hospers should have one-half of the town lands and that the association should retain the other half. Later when sixty prospective emigrants had bought shares in a town to be called "New Holland", the members of the association resolved to grant one-third of the town-site to their agent Henry Hospers to reimburse him for all his activity in behalf of the colonization project.[126]

The town of Orange City, which was laid out soon after the Hollanders arrived from Pella, at first embraced a quarter-section of land in the middle of the rich farming country selected for the colony. The emigrant association at once set apart one block for a public park, staked off lots most of which were fifty by one hundred and twenty-five feet in size, and decided to lay aside one-fifth of the proceeds of the sale of lots as a college fund. It was stipulated in all conveyances that the purchaser should plant shade trees fronting his lot, whether buildings were erected or not. That these lines of trees might be planted with uniformity and regularity, furrows were plowed at the proper distance from the lots along all the streets, thus also preparing the ground for the setting of the trees. The streets running north and south were named Sioux, Pella, William, Washington, and Prairie.[127]

One of the first two buildings in the prairie village of Orange City was a schoolhouse, and the population in 1870 consisted of a carpenter and his wife and son. In the spring and summer of 1871 a few houses were built, and an inn-keeper, a shoemaker, a barber, and a blacksmith came to town. Hospers also sent a contractor to build the first colony store. Here, it is said, butter and eggs were received in exchange for merchandise, and on account of the general scarcity of money among the settlers, no credit was given for a time until the leader of the colony invented "store orders", the drawer of which bound himself to break a specified number of acres of prairie soil. These orders or promises to work circulated quite extensively for a time.

After the severe winter of 1871-1872, when snowstorms had interfered very much with the tedious journeys to gather fuel along the rivers, the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad was completed through the eastern part of the new colony with a station at East Orange (now Alton), about four miles east of Orange City. No other agency proved to be so great a boon to the settlement's growth: it spared many a long wagon journey for fuel, and offered the settlers adequate and fairly convenient facilities for the transportation of grain, and the importation of lumber, farm implements, merchandise, and other necessaries.

The Hollanders had made themselves such a power at the polls that at the autumn election of 1872 a majority of voters declared their desire that the county seat be removed from Calliope to the eastern part of the county where most of the inhabitants lived. The Board of Supervisors thereupon resolved that the county records and property be transferred at once. Courthouse and jail were established in Orange City and a poor-farm was selected just outside the town limits. Henceforth official life centered in the Dutch colony.[128]

For three years the Dutch pioneers of Sioux County experienced steady progress upon their prairie farms. They had gathered a modest crop of wheat and corn from their newly-broken acres in 1870 and were abundantly blessed in the harvest seasons of 1871 and 1872. A bright future seemed to beckon to all Hollanders who were willing to be economical and industrious. They had contended with many hardships and had sacrificed much, but enjoyed the peace and harmony of a pleasant community life. They had learned to take a neighborly interest in one another's welfare and they aided one another with advice and practical assistance. They were communistic in spirit if not in fact. One hundred and sixty-three families had become housed within as many dwellings in Holland Township, and twenty-seven families lived at Orange City. The entire population of these two political divisions, not counting the Dutch settlers of Nassau and other townships, numbered over one thousand persons, or about one-third of the total population of the county.[129]

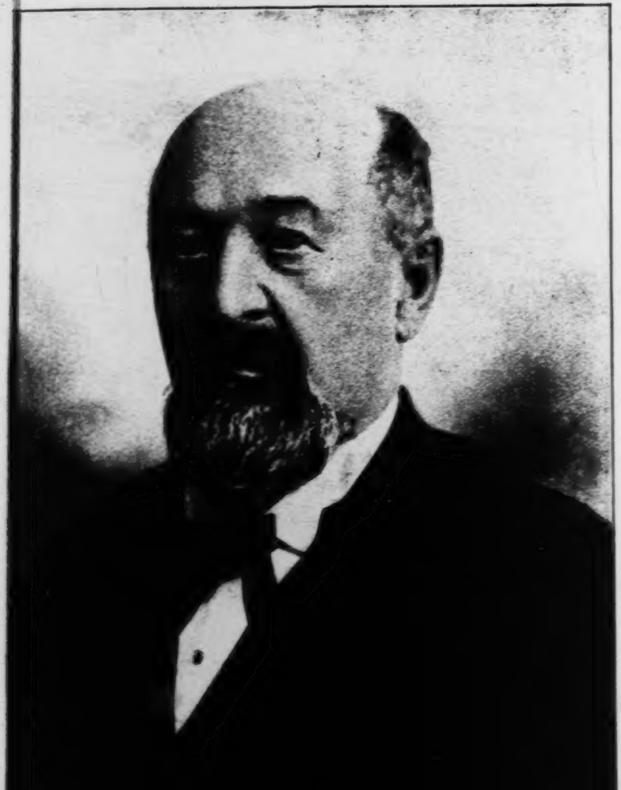
The founding of a "daughter" colony in Sioux County is perhaps the most noteworthy incident in the history of Pella, not only because an abundance of excellent farm land was discovered for so many of Pella's younger generation of inhabitants, who were thus saved to the State of Iowa, but also because Orange City and vicinity have come to be the third successful Dutch settlement in the United States.

XXIII

HENRY HOSPERS AND IMMIGRATION TO SIOUX COUNTY

The choice of a site for the new Dutch colony was well advertised by Henry Hospers in his family newspaper, *Pella's Weekblad*, which counted many readers among the Hollanders of Wisconsin and Michigan and through Dutch newspapers in those States and various other exchanges reached hundreds of people not only in America but also in The Netherlands.

Henry Hospers was but a youth of seventeen years when he arrived in Iowa with Scholte's first large body of Dutch immigrants. His rise upon the western frontier of the New World was typically American. Beginning as one of Pella's first schoolmasters, he next obtained the practical experience of a surveyor and then became land-agent and notary public with a prosperous business. The panic of 1857 placed him in dire straits and difficulties — only his broad knowledge of men and conditions, together with stamina and will-power, enabled him to rise above misfortune. He founded the first Dutch newspaper in Pella, was editor for nearly ten years; and he served also as mayor of Pella from 1867 to 1871. As a candidate for county surveyor in 1856 and for State Representative in 1869 he suffered defeat at



HENRY HOSPERS

the polls. It was while he occupied the mayor's chair that the State Board of Immigration commissioned him to go to The Netherlands to promote Dutch immigration to Iowa.

Of this mission Hospers rendered a full report in which he stated by way of preface that though he was commissioned in July he did not leave for Europe until the middle of October, 1870, because there was imminent danger that The Netherlands might become involved in the Franco-Prussian War. Soon after his arrival at Rotterdam on the third day of November he opened an office in the village of Hoog Blokland in the province of Zuid Holland, and immediately caused advertisements to be inserted in the chief newspapers published at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Hensden, Kampen, and Leeuwarden.[130]

The advertisement, translated from the Dutch, read as follows:

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA

Mr. Henry Hospers, Mayor of the city of Pella, in the State of Iowa, United States of North America, specially commissioned by the Board of Immigration of the said State of Iowa, will remain in The Netherlands until the 15th day of January, A. D., 1871, for the purpose of giving detailed information to all who wish to emigrate to Iowa, about the country, climate and prospects of said State. All letters will be promptly answered without charge; and further notice will be given at what places and times persons interested can have a general conference with him.

Address: Henry Hospers, Care of Wm. Middelkoop, Esq., Hoog Blokland, near Gorinchem.

When these advertisements appeared in the newspapers of Holland, letters began to pour in from all the provinces, filled with inquiries about Iowa lands. To answer all questions properly would have necessitated the assistance of several clerks. Hospers, therefore, composed and published a pamphlet of eight pages, entitled: "Iowa: Shall I emigrate to America? Practically answered by a Hollander who has resided for twenty-four years in one of the best States in the Union." One thousand of these pamphlets were printed and mailed to inquirers free of charge throughout The Netherlands.

Except Saturdays, when he remained at his office to read and answer letters, and Sundays, Hospers spent all of the time from the 28th of November, 1870, until the 11th day of January, 1871, traveling through The Netherlands and personally meeting scores of people according to appointments previously made. Thus, he held five conferences at Gorinchem, four at Rotterdam, three at Amsterdam, two at Utrecht and Heerenveen, and others at Genderen, 's Hertogenbosch, Dordrecht, Klundert, Axel, Leeuwarden, Dronrijp, and other places. He reported that every imaginable sort of question was put to him and that "most of these conferences were prolonged till after midnight".

In his message to the Board of Immigration in March, 1871, Hospers wrote:

> Many, especially persons with large families, were anxious to learn all about Iowa. Parents, surrounded with all the comforts of life, worth from $10,000 to $40,000, with

several grown-up children, and willing to leave those comforts behind, in order to better the position of their children, were eager for information. Several of this class will come to Iowa this year; others, having to wait till they sell their property, will come next year.

Mechanics and capitalists, professional men and owners of factories, in fact from all classes, wrote to me or came to see me.

My mission to Holland, I am sure, will bear good fruit, and will bring to our noble State well educated, enterprising, and industrious families. Already several have arrived, some of whom have settled in Marion, and others in Sioux County, Iowa.

Before my departure from Holland, I had notices inserted in some newspapers, giving my address in Iowa, and offering to answer all letters. Not a week passes but what I receive letters, eagerly inquiring for information.

The pamphlets published by your Board and translated into the Dutch language, also the biennial message of our worthy Governor Merrill, have done a great deal of good and were read with much interest.[131]

Shortly after Hospers returned to Pella he resigned his mayorship and in May, 1871, he left the city to cast in his fortunes with the Sioux County colony which he had been so instrumental in founding. He became at once the leading spirit among the pioneer farmers of Holland and Nassau townships, a position which he held almost until his death in 1901. He continued to be the chief promoter of the settlement of Sioux County lands. As notary public, counsellor at law, member of the county board of supervisors, and insurance and land agent, he stood out as the leader in the official and business life of the young settlement of Hollanders.

The State of Iowa had thus taken an active share in urging the best class of European emigrants to buy its fertile acres. No better man than Hospers could have been selected to attract attention to the large unoccupied areas in Iowa. Pamphlets on the resources of Iowa, printed by legislative authority in the Dutch language, especially conduced to the attainment of this purpose. An early result was that many Hollanders forsook Wisconsin in the years 1870 and 1871 to undertake the life of pioneers in Sioux County. Indeed, the coming of Hollanders and perhaps of a few Americans increased the population, estimated at one hundred and ten in 1869, to five hundred and seventy-six in 1870.[132]

While much was done to promote immigration to the Dutch colony through the medium of *Pella's Weekblad* (with which Hospers remained on intimate terms after his departure from Pella), and indirectly through other Dutch newspapers in America, the reports of men who were pleased with the Dutch colonies in America must also have had considerable influence. The Rev. Dr. Cohen Stuart, delegate from The Netherlands to the Evangelical Alliance at New York, was induced by Henry Hospers to visit Orange City before his return to Holland. This gentleman afterwards drew on his experiences in Sioux County and declared at a special meeting that emigration to America was good for America's uncultivated, fertile fields, and good for Holland: the man who remained in Holland would have more air to breathe, and the man of industry, perseverance, and probity who went to America would enjoy there a comparative measure of prosperity. He urged further that Holland should get into closer touch with the inhabitants of Dutch settlements in America.[133]

In the year 1874 Hospers began the publication of a Dutch newspaper at Orange City. He frankly declared to the world that he would not have done so if "the good God had not placed here 500 families of people who, though living for the most part in mean huts, are yet without a care and own a very rich and fertile soil, so plentiful that a thousand more Dutch families could be enjoying this gift of God." And he asked: "Would it not be uncharitable to conceal the advantages which we enjoy here, not to reveal that this is a place where many ambitious Christian Netherlanders may provide their children an independent living? And to contradict and expose to public contempt the many misrepresentations which covetous speculators have circulated in Holland: see there a reason why we have the courage to issue a 'Volksvriendje' [Little Friend of the People]."

It was, therefore, to attract the attention of emigrants to this magnificent spot on God's earth and to advertise its advantages far and wide that Hospers sent his little newspaper into the world. *De Volksvriend* at once filled a want, because the editor received numerous letters of inquiry from Holland every week asking him to answer the question:

"Where shall I settle?" Hospers sent copies of the first issue to various newspapers in Holland and elsewhere, requesting the editors to read and copy his editorials in the interest of emigration to America, also assuring them that he would send references as to his responsibility to show that confidence might be reposed in what he wrote.

Hospers recommended that the colonists of Orange City should organize a "Citizen's Club", as the Dutch of Holland, Michigan, had done to aid the emigration movement in The Netherlands and to protect and promote the interests of immigrants. In every issue of his paper he advertised thousands of acres of Sioux County land.[184]

In 1875 there appeared from the press in Holland a small book compiled by a Dutch resident of Iowa. The writer designed it as a contribution to enable emigrants to understand political and economic conditions in the United States and especially in Iowa. He declared that experience had taught him repeatedly "how little trust can be placed in most reports on North America, and how the truth is most often sacrificed to the unscrupulous desire to encourage immigration and promote the country's welfare without thought or concern whether such colored and exaggerated pictures should render hundreds of families miserable for life."

The same writer alleged that the American press and even State Boards of Immigration used all sorts of lawful and unlawful means to attain their ends, and were no better than the railroad projectors who flooded the European money markets with fine-sounding promises which sooner or later proved to be worthless. "For my part," he declared, "the longer I live here, the more regard I come to entertain for my countrymen, and I myself have learned too well how many disappointments and deceptions one is exposed to, not to do my duty." In conclusion he said: "Therefore, when I make a mistake, I do so in good faith, and to be able to say this conscientiously is surely no daily occurrence in this country."

This writer came into correspondence with Henry Hospers who invited him to visit the Dutch colony. He did so, and found it necessary to give an accurate and complete account of the Hollanders in Iowa. He was positively convinced, he says, "that in all of North America there is no place where the Holland emigrant has better chances to succeed and is less exposed to disappointment or deception than in flourishing Orange City."[135]

In 1875 Henry Hospers caused advertisements relative to Sioux County lands to be inserted in several Dutch newspapers, and in order to leave no doubt as to his trustworthiness and responsibility he also presented affidavits signed by two county officers, a minister, and a doctor. A characteristic of all the letters which Hospers received from Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, New York, and Holland in reply to these advertisements was the unmistakable desire of the writers to leave their homes and find better ones elsewhere. Hollanders were so closely packed in the larger cities such as

Grand Rapids, Grand Haven, Kalamazoo, Chicago, Milwaukee, Rochester, New York, and Paterson, the prices of land were so high, and money was so scarce during hard times not only among farmers but also among townspeople, that an outlet had to be found. Hundreds were ambitious to do better for themselves and their children. To them Orange City, Iowa, was offered as an excellent opportunity: land was advertised at from five dollars to twenty dollars per acre on easy terms, and special attention was called to the proximity of a railroad, an advantage of which, it was pointed out, the first Dutch inhabitants of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pella had been deprived for many years.[136]

In September, 1875, a committee of six men from Michigan inspected northern Sioux County and southern Lyon County. They returned well satisfied with their visit to this beautiful district. The Orange City colony far surpassed their wildest expectations, for it had railroad connections with St. Paul, Sioux City, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, and New Orleans. Hospers thereupon urged all prospective emigrants to send similar committees of trustworthy men, and he prophesied that they could come to but one conclusion: "We are coming! The half has not been told us!" Throughout these years Hospers spared no trouble or expense to enlarge the Dutch colony and promote its prosperity.[137]

Shortly after the Michigan men had visited northwestern Iowa to secure land for a colony, Hospers declared that within twelve years Sioux County would be the most populous Holland settlement in the United States, and he also informed the public that steps had been taken to buy twenty-five thousand acres of land for another colony. In fact, ten thousand acres were purchased near Doon, just across the northern boundary of Sioux County, and were occupied by Michigan emigrants in the spring of 1876. A number also settled at Beloit in Lyon County. Simon Kuyper journeyed to Michigan in February to interest the Dutch in emigration. Judging from letters of inquiry Hospers expected a large accession of Hollanders in March, 1876, from Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Minnesota. In response to numerous inquiries he announced his intention to buy sixteen sections of land in the Rock River valley, in the northwestern part of the county. He received a letter also from certain Hollanders who were tired of living among the Mormons in Utah.[138]

Thus in every possible way Henry Hospers exerted himself to attract his Dutch compatriots to the settlement which claimed Orange City as the center of its community life — he made its name and fame known among all the Hollanders of America and Europe. For years reports of its excellent advantages as an agricultural region continued to be circulated, and their truth could not be disputed. But despite all this tireless industry and perseverance on the part of the leader of the colony another agency for a series of years robbed the promoter, his neighbors, and the colony of the prosperity which they merited.

XXIV

LOCUST RAVAGES AND YEARS OF HARDSHIP

Most memorable in the minds of the Dutch pioneers of Sioux County are the years from 1873 to 1879 inclusive — a period which introduced the Hollanders to one of the worst pests of the whole trans-Mississippi region and revealed once more the ox-like patience so characteristic of their nation. A review of that period, so deeply burned into the memories of many of the people still living in the northwestern counties of Iowa, will show how disastrous were the depredations committed by insects which were at one time more common than they are to-day.

Occupying the greater portion of three townships, the Hollanders spent the first spring months of 1870 preparing small areas of their widely scattered homesteads for cultivation. They hastened to transform the prairie into fields. And so in the autumn of 1870 the Hollanders of Sioux County gathered from their fresh-plowed acres a goodly harvest of wheat, "sod corn", potatoes, and vegetables sufficient for themselves and the needs of their live stock. Where but a few months before there had been no sign of a human habitation, in August the little pioneer houses of wood and prairie sod met the eye everywhere: hundreds of acres of the wild but beautiful prairie soil had been broken, and much of it had been planted. Many of the new settlers were men with means sufficient to make good improvements. They had brought many head of horses, cattle and hogs, farm implements, and household goods; but most of them had barely enough to make a start in the world. The energy, however, which all displayed during those early months clearly indicated their intention to build up a rich and prosperous agricultural community.

Success crowned their industry with more bountiful crops in the harvest months of the years 1871 and 1872. The uninhabited, uncultivated prairies of 1869 had now been made to blossom for the use of man. Once without roads, without railroads, without human habitations, within two brief years the Hollanders had all of these improvements, even though they were crude and primitive. The first settlers had each year welcomed fresh accessions of their fellow-countrymen from Pella, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and The Netherlands. With only a few exceptions these new colonists were men of very limited means. But in one season they expected to bring from forty to eighty acres under cultivation, and thus lay the foundation for the achievement of what they had reason to believe would soon be a state of financial independence. To plow and otherwise prepare and sow and harvest their acres they needed capital for the purchase of horses and harness, wagons, plows, and harrows, and all the other implements necessary to the farmer's calling.

The settlers, therefore, bought their machinery and stock on credit — an evil unavoidably bound up with the desire to cultivate land which lent itself so easily to improvement. The abundant yield of harvests in 1870, 1871, and 1872 warranted the purchase of such necessities, and also naturally induced many to go into debt to obtain articles which were not necessary for present purposes. Merchants and agents who solicited orders for agricultural implements gladly sold on credit and accepted notes because they had no doubts of the honesty of their Dutch customers or of the possibilities of Sioux County farms.[130]

In the spring of the year 1873, many Dutch pioneers entertained hopes and plans for the improvement of their homes and farm buildings. Those who still lived in sod houses felt the need of better, more sanitary dwellings. Thus far they had succeeded. On the strength of an experience covering the past three years and with dreams of future prosperity many rebuilt their houses, and others made extensive repairs. Early in the summer they feasted their eyes upon luxuriant fields of wheat, flax, corn, and oats. Such a glorious sight seemed to warrant the building of new granaries.

The colonists had already denied themselves and their families many things; but now they felt justified in buying necessary clothing for their wives and children — the harvest would pay for all. Indeed, dealers in merchandise and lumber and farm implements — all eagerly sold on credit, for the Dutch farmer generally kept his word. And finally, some of these colonist land owners acquired a taste for speculation. "Would it not be a pity", they argued, "if we miss this fine chance to buy quarter-sections of excellent railway land adjacent to our own homesteads?" Surely the opportunity to invest in railroad lands which had just been placed on the market appealed to many. And so they bought on credit at a very low figure, rather than run the risk of being compelled later on to buy from speculators. Thus again they subscribed their names to promissory notes. Debtor and creditor alike were ready to look upon those promising fields of grain as security sufficient to satisfy all obligations.

Then destruction, sure and swift, came to blast their hopes. The Hollanders had counted their bear skins too soon. They had been building air-castles; for like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky, myriads of locusts flying southwestward from the ravaged corn-fields of Minnesota descended like large flakes of snow upon the gardens, haylands, and grain-fields of the settlers. Within a few days they devoured in some instances entire fields of grain, vegetables, and even weeds and leaves of trees and shrubbery; and when it seemed as if hardly a blade of grass would remain to appease their insatiable hunger they took flight and left behind them a veritable desert. In some fields they had not been so ravenous as in others, for they had been rather unevenly distributed upon the surface of the country. Nevertheless, the Hollanders spent many melancholy days,

"days of sadness but also days of prayer", and when they had gathered in the harvest of 1873 they had scarcely enough to supply their needs. The hard labor of the year had been swept away as by a breath, and the reward for which they had endured privation was snatched out of their very hands.

Although some were not as hard hit as others, the colonists gathered on an average only one-fourth of a crop. This, coupled with low prices, resulted in extremely straitened circumstances. The loss fell most heavily on those who were least able to bear it — homesteaders who were raising their first crop and were entirely dependent upon it for support. A great many were rendered destitute: they were without clothing or food sufficient for a month's supply. Others had barely sufficient to carry them through the winter, much less to tide them over till another harvest.

Reports of their deplorable condition were telegraphed from Sioux City to various parts of the country, and although considerably exaggerated, they fairly revealed the destitution which prevailed in the northwestern counties of Iowa. In December N. B. Baker, Adjutant-General of the State of Iowa, visited Sioux County in person to investigate the condition of the settlers. Later he distributed to them money and clothing which had been collected and received everywhere throughout the State by local homesteaders' relief committees. The Hollanders of Pella sent thousands of bushels of corn and several carloads of coal.[140]

Henry Hospers, chairman of the Sioux County board of supervisors, sent out letters asking for "provisions, money, clothing (even half-worn clothing), ladies' and childrens' wear, and blankets", especially for settlers in the northern and western parts of the county where the suffering was most marked. Although a Sioux City newspaper inveighed against this policy, pronouncing "it a swindle on the people of Iowa, and a disgrace to the independent yeomanry of Sioux County to have Mr. Hospers begging for them, while they live in Sioux County, a land of plenty, and have the right and lawful authority to help themselves", conditions in all of northwestern Iowa were really so bad that the State as well as the people of Iowa contributed many thousands of dollars to enable the unfortunate settlers to purchase the necessities of life and to secure seed for spring sowing.[141]

Both houses of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa considered the question of the destitution in the northwestern counties. Governor Carpenter placed before them all the facts relative to the condition of the people, including a resolution of the board of supervisors of Sioux County and a letter from Mr. Hospers.[142]

A committee of five legislators, appointed to investigate the reports of destitution, performed their work thoroughly, as is shown by their excellent report:

> Your Committee visited the counties of Sioux, O'Brien and Osceola, and while absent also gave audience to repre-

sentative delegations of citizens from Lyon, Plymouth and other counties. Timely notice of public meetings at Orange City in Sioux county, Sibley in Osceola county, and Sheldon in O'Brien county, was given, and at each of the points named your Committee met from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty of the anxious and distressed men of the afflicted district. Considering the sparsely populated character of the country, these audiences were a matter of surprise to your Committee. It only requires to be stated that many of those in attendance came from twenty-five to forty miles across the prairies to meet your representatives, braving the dangers of the season, augmented by the fact that many were thinly clad, and that but few had means to buy a meal of victuals, to fully indicate to your honorable body the painful interest felt by the people as to the action of the State in the matter of affording them the relief the extremity of their situation demands.

It is a matter of satisfaction to your Committee to say that the men met at these gatherings gave every indication of being as deserving, intelligent, industrious, provident a class of citizens as would likely be brought together in any quarter of the State. They impressed your Committee as being men not likely to depend upon charity, or as willing to accept charity, when by any means they could work out their own deliverance.

In addition to eliciting facts intended to satisfy the General Assembly as to the necessity for State aid, your Committee carefully examined the question as to the ability of the counties to afford the assistance needed. The facts thus brought out are briefly incorporated in subsequent paragraphs of this report, and it is thought that they demonstrate with the utmost clearness the total inability of the

> local authorities to meet the demands of the existing emergency.

Then follow brief reports on the history and finances of Sioux, Osceola, O'Brien, and Lyon counties:

> The four counties named embrace the heart of the destitute district; and while other counties to more or less extent suffered from the invasion of grasshoppers, and other unusual inflictions, your Committee did not deem a rigid examination of other localities essential to the discharge of the duties entrusted to their hands. In the counties specifically referred to, however, the Committee labored to develop the substantial facts, feeling assured that the test here applied would answer as relative truth as to other and neighboring counties, and afford ample information upon which to base intelligent action on the part of the General Assembly.

The Committee then referred to the unexpected devastation of the fields of the settlers, and continued:

> Their pluck sustained them for a time, and even yet a man is occasionally met who refused to consult the relief committee. But the great majority in the more afflicted portion of the unfortunate district have been compelled to accept aid — for life is more than pride. Many who have thus far got along without aid have sold their last bushel of grain, and are now quite powerless to seed their land without assistance from some source. Either in the matter of subsistence or seed, propositions for relief have uniformly been the last to find acceptance.
>
> Your Committee spent some time in riding over the great sweeps of prairie, snow-clad and desolate, visiting the people in their houses. None of their residences are extrava-

gant, and seldom embrace more than one room. A majority of them are neat, though rough, having little furniture aside from such articles as the man of the house could manufacture. Some of the houses are made of sod, with straw roofs, in which floors other than the hard ground may be absent. A few pounds of flour, or a little meal, with possibly a little pork of some kind, generally comprised the stock of provisions — with no hope beyond the good hearts of the more fortunate people of Iowa for fresh supplies. Nevertheless the people are generally cheerful; and if any one expects to find a wail of perpetual lamentation he might as well look outside "the grasshopper district" as within it. The men and women there stand up squarely, in the full dignity of their muscular development, and say, "We only ask for a reasonable chance for our lives!" And they evidently have faith sufficient in the people of Iowa to believe that this they shall have.

The relief supplies as far as your Committee could judge, have been wisely used; and that they have prevented actual starvation, your Committee are constrained to believe. It is all important that these supplies should be continued; and your Committee feel impelled to say that they can hardly be continued too liberally.

The great concern of the settlers at the present time is seed; and it was the anxiety of the people on this score that brought so many from near and far to meet your Committee in the gatherings before alluded to. Their painful anxiety over this great issue is easily discerned; and their suspense, in view of the near approach of seeding time, may be put down as among their chief sufferings. Your Committee estimate that aid is needed to seed over 100,000 acres of land, and while it is not regarded as possible to afford all the relief desired, the Committee is clearly of the opinion that an appropriation should be made to meet the emergency to the extent possible.

The Committee reported that the land in northwestern Iowa was certainly as good as any in the State, and that the settlers had "unbounded confidence in their ability to succeed". To enable these people to seed their lands, to defray the expense of purchasing, transporting, and distributing the seed, and to provide feed for their teams (generally reduced in flesh and unable to perform the required labor without grain), an appropriation to the amount of $120,000 was recommended, the committee suggesting that this amount be offered in the form of a loan, a policy most acceptable to the settlers, as they emphatically stated they did not desire a donation. The recommendation was made "not simply as a matter of humanity, not simply as a matter of duty to a suffering people; but as a matter of justice to men who are engaged in the work of reducing one of the fairest portions of Iowa from the wilderness — as a matter of profit to the State at large."[143] Accordingly, in the month of February, 1874, the General Assembly appropriated $50,000 for the purchase of seed, grain, and vegetables, and provided for the appointment of commissioners to distribute articles of relief and disburse the money.[144]

Though some of the Dutch settlers had lost more heavily than others, it is reported that when promissory notes became due, even those who had not suffered severely from the locust visitation invented pitiful grasshopper stories as a means of stalling their creditors. Undoubtedly the grasshopper never had more debts loaded upon him than in the year 1873. All alike hoped that the next harvest would provide, and so the payment of debts was postponed till that better time should arrive.

The ardor of the Dutch farmers was not cooled by the disaster of 1873. They proceeded to break more prairie, for the railroad lands which they had bought needed to be plowed. In the spring of 1874 they purchased as much farm machinery as at any previous time. They sowed thousands of acres with wheat, and in June, as in the year before, they anticipated a tremendous return for their toil.

One Sunday morning in July, while the settlers were at church, a north wind again bore countless millions of locusts from Minnesota. Millions on millions of the insects poured down upon a strip of country estimated at from forty to sixty miles in length. They covered the earth so thickly that it seemed as if every vestige of vegetation would be destroyed at once. With the exception of oats and early wheat which had been reaped, one pioneer declared that "by Monday morning all our crops were stripped and gone". On Thursday morning when the sky was cleared of clouds and a wind sprang up from the north, the swarming myriads of locusts took wing for the south, and disappeared almost entirely within two hours.

Reports of this visit of the locusts were despatched from East Orange and Hospers in Sioux County, and although the loss entailed was not so great as that of the previous year, and although some fields were entirely unmolested, hardly one-half of the crop was harvested. Indian corn produced an average yield of five bushels to the acre. This loss, together with the low market prices paid for farm products, pressed so hard upon the Hollanders that some gave up in discouragement and departed, while others were ready and eager to sell their lands for a merely nominal sum of money. An old settler subsequently related that "in one instance a man got so disgusted that he sold his 80 acres for $225, throwing in a span of mules, wagon, and cow."[145]

The devastations wrought by the Colorado or Rocky Mountain locusts, as they were called, were so widespread in certain Iowa and Minnesota counties that Congress passed an act which made it lawful for homestead and preëmption settlers to leave and be absent from their lands in those counties until May 1, 1875, "under such regulations as to proof of the same as the Commissioner of the General Land Office may prescribe." The act further provided that during such absence no adverse rights should attach to the lands, and settlers should be allowed "to resume and perfect their settlements as though no such absence had been enjoyed or allowed", an exemption which was extended "to those making settlements in 1874, and suffering the same destruction of crops as those making settlement of 1873, or any previous year."[146]

Referring to the exodus from Kansas and Nebraska, which was witnessed every day on the public thoroughfares, as abundant evidence of the discouragement of many citizens in those States and in parts of Iowa and Minnesota, an editorial writer in one of the leading newspapers of Iowa concluded as follows:

> Providence does not intend that the largest tract of rich agricultural land in the world shall be devastated and rendered uninhabitable. These marauding insects were intended for the barren mountain fastnesses, and if occasionally they break over their bounds, it should be considered like all other demonstrations of Providence. Without winds the atmosphere would become stagnant and destructive of life, yet they often destroy man's fairest fabrics. Rains come to sustain animal and vegetable life, yet they frequently sweep away man and his works. Electricity performs many and valuable agencies in nature's economy, still it at times fills the mind of man with terror at its destructive power. Fear not, this rich inheritance will produce enough for man, even though once in a decade, locusts, drouth or flood should partially sweep the crops away. Study more thoroughly their history and habits, and prepare, like the Mormons, for the emergencies that beset the land adopted for our homes. It is not probable any part of Iowa will be disturbed again for seven or ten years. In the meantime, instead of all wheat or corn our farmers will have a greater variety of crops and stock on which to rely if any branch of their business should be devoured by insects, drouth or flood.[147]

Discouragement was so epidemic among the Hollanders of Sioux County in the fall of 1874 that, had it not been for the wise counsel and cheerfulness of Henry Hospers, Rev. Seine Bolks, and other influential men, the colony would probably have disappeared as a Dutch community. During those days of gloom there appeared in Hospers' Dutch newspaper a lengthy editorial, the purpose of which was to counteract the bad effects of the locust scourge and to exhort the people not to lose courage. "Present conditions", wrote the editor, "do not detract from the indisputable and generally recognized truth that we have received here a bit of soil which cannot be surpassed in richness and fertility, in healthfulness of climate, and in its suitability for Hollanders. Neither grasshoppers nor inevitable debt which now oppresses us can belie this."

Then Hospers proceeded to draw a picture of the progress of the community:

> More than 400 families have settled here; more than 15,000 acres are under cultivation; fifteen neat frame schoolhouses grace various parts of our county; good roads have been laid out; the Sioux City and St. Paul Railroad runs squarely across our colony. East Orange and Hospers are two flourishing stations in our settlement. Orange City, the county seat and center of our colony, has a pretty court-house, large church parsonage, five stores, two hotels, and forty residences: see there what has been done in five years' time.
>
> Can any other settlement offer a better record? Dark shadows, wrestlings, difficulties, adversity, and much privation also comprised a chapter in our colony's history. To deny this would be foolish, and whatever the discouragement we now experience: we had expected worse; and it is far less terrible than that of the first colonists of Pella, Michigan and Wisconsin.

And in conclusion the writer asked:

> Is our settlement inherently less valuable than formerly? Can we not reasonably expect a rich and blessed future? The Lord who planted this colony will cause it to flourish. Debts may oppress us, but they cannot deprive us of our fertile lands! And how much good we have! We enjoy good health — we have an abundance of the necessaries of life. Wherever else we might be, we should be burdened with debt there no less than here. We conclude with the earnest solicitation that all who wish to emigrate should come to see us!

Hospers also strongly urged all his fellow-colonists to deal honestly, carefully, and judiciously and to pay off their debts as rapidly as possible. He suggested that they should first look after the needs of their families and their live stock, and buy seed for the next year's crop; then pay what they owed their neighbors in town and country; and lastly remove their written promises to pay for farm machinery. Early in the year 1875, to show that they were not the only sufferers, Sioux County Hollanders were requested to donate what they could to alleviate distress among the Hollanders in Kansas.[148]

In 1875 the Hollanders were blessed with a splendid harvest, although considerable grain, especially wheat, was destroyed by storms and heavy rains. Additional loss was occasioned by prairie fires which often spread into stubble fields consuming stacks of grain. Farmers were thus taught not to burn their prairie grass, not only on account of the danger of property loss and punishment according to law, but also because "it makes our prairie hills look so barren — besides grass catches snow and prevents robberies, and snow-covered prairies are healthier and warmer." Though the hated, omnivorous grasshoppers were hatched from eggs deposited in the land in 1874, they did not cause much damage in the summer of 1875. The era of better times served to cheer the population as nothing else could, but it also made creditors more clamorous. Newspapers in the colony contained numerous notices not only requesting the payment of debts but also advertising sheriff's sales of land for unpaid taxes.

Discouragement still prevailed in many quarters, and an Orange City editor advised farmers not to dispose of their homes too hurriedly, adding: "In a year or two you will have the best land that sun ever shone upon, particularly in the northern part of the county. Our land is just beginning to receive attention from Eastern homeseekers, and soon this raw, wild land will be converted into miniature gardens. Churches and schools will also come to you in a little while. Only live so that your name will not appear upon every slip of paper — we mean a note — so that you will not be forced to sell your wheat until you can get a good price, and then you will be happy and prosperous."[149]

Hope was at low ebb, however, among the Dutch pioneers during the winter of 1875. Once more in the spring and early summer of 1876 they had visions of an abundant harvest, when once more in June a plague of locusts settled as a blight upon their fields. For ten days they ravaged the farms, playing havoc with the crops of some settlers while scarcely touching the fields of others. So serious was the damage done that settlers in the northern part of Sioux County emigrated to escape forever a pest which had recurred too often. Everything possible was done to inspire the disaffected Hollanders with courage and patience, but very often without avail.

In June, 1877, the locust eggs which had been laid in the soil the year before had hatched so plentifully that practically all small grain crops were destroyed. Driven to desperation some Hollanders tried every reasonable means to exterminate the pest, but without success. They constructed a sort of large sheet-iron pan sixteen feet long, three feet wide, with one side two feet high, and into it they poured tar and petroleum. As this apparatus was drawn over the surface of the fields, millions of grasshoppers flew into it and were killed, and yet the pest was not appreciably diminished. Despite wide-spread devastations in 1877, the Hollanders were thankful to have enough left to supply their immediate needs.

In 1878 the hopes and labors of the pioneers of Sioux County were rewarded with a heavy crop, although considerable damage had been done by violent rain storms which flattened out many fields of grain so that reaping and harvesting had to be effected by means of grass-mowers and hay rakes. When the dreaded locusts arrived again for their annual visit in September, little harm could be done: the worst they could do was to deposit their eggs. When the drouth of 1879 had successfully hatched these, and after furious storms had caused much loss in June and July, the deadly enemy had left little of wheat, oats, and other small grain crops. Following the departure of this locust brood, there came a terrific hurricane to cap the climax of the season's direful destruction.[180]

Such a gauntlet of years of bad fortune tried the mettle of the Hollanders and required nothing short of heroism. To the present generation it appears as if those Hollanders who survived the terrible ordeal and clung to their homesteads possessed superhuman patience. Their descendants and the farmers of to-day who have never undergone such harrowing pioneer experiences can perhaps never fully realize how human beings could steel their hearts to endure such stinging defeats for a series of years and not surrender. To be sure, many of the settlers did not resist the temptation to sell their homesteads for a trifle, and very many who remained did so only because they could do nothing else. Farmers hopelessly in debt, business men with thousands of dollars credited upon the pages of their books of account, and money borrowed at extortionate rates of interest upon the best security — such were some of the facts which characterized the first years of financial stringency among the Dutch pioneers of the Orange City colony.

The present generation of farmers in that prosperous community will never know how much their fathers owed to those few sturdy business men who labored hard, kept their community from starvation, and maintained their own credit. Had it not been for the ministrations of such leaders as the pastor of the colony, Rev. Bolks, and their principal financial agent, Henry Hospers, very many Hollanders who later prospered would have surrendered their holdings in disgust and sought homes elsewhere.

During the first decade of its history, therefore, the Dutch colonists in Sioux County passed through a period of trials and tribulations such as few pioneers have been called upon to bear. They saw their population dwindling in numbers, but their leaders never lost faith in the quality of their soil and believed that God would yet bless them with rich harvests: their judgment was vindicated. Those who endured the locust depredations as they came, and remained upon their farms have never since found any reason to regret it. On the contrary, they or their children are now the proud possessors of lands which money can hardly buy, and many who left Sioux County then to seek better fortune elsewhere bewail the fact that they did not stay to invest their labor and capital in land which has come to be the most valuable in the State of Iowa.

XXV

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF GROWTH IN THE ORANGE CITY COLONY

DURING the decade from 1870 to 1880 the growth of the new settlement in Sioux County was not especially encouraging, and yet the population of Sioux County increased from 575 in 1870 to 2872 in 1873, to 3220 in 1875, and to 5426 in 1880. This was indeed a rapid increase, considering the destruction of crops year after year. How many of the inhabitants of the county were Hollanders it would be difficult to estimate. Judging from the fact that the number of foreign-born Netherlanders in Iowa, a total of 4513 in 1870, had risen to only 4743 in 1880, few foreign-born Hollanders settled in Marion and Sioux counties. Many American-born Hollanders, however, had immigrated to Sioux County from other States of the Middle West.[181]

The establishment of Holland Township gave a decided impetus to the settlement of vacant public lands in Sioux County. Of the inhabitants in 1870, only one hundred and sixteen were foreign-born Hollanders; but these with Pella-born Hollanders probably comprised a majority of the population. The village of Orange City contained fifty inhabitants in 1871 and ninety-six in 1873, when there were also two other small villages, East Orange and Hospers, stations on the St. Paul and Sioux City Railway. Holland and Nassau townships contained a majority of the people of Sioux County in 1873 (about 1500 souls) most of whom were Dutch. In 1872 Orange City was selected as the county seat.[152]

The Hollanders were reported to have taken the greater portion of five townships in 1870; and a traveler afterward roughly estimated the size of the Dutch settlement at fifteen miles square, though much of the land still belonged to railroad companies and speculators. A Keokuk newspaper man described his visit to Sioux County in 1874 as follows:

> Five hundred families now live about the county seat, Orange City. These Hollanders are thrifty, industrious people, honest and sober, and with the accessions to their number which are constantly being made from the old country, will make Sioux County bloom and blossom with wheat, etc., if not with roses. The Dutch have taken Sioux County as effectually as they have Holland. Since going in they have changed the county seat, which the old manipulators do not like. They are building a new court house, new bridges, churches, etc. They are going in for a new deal generally. Hospers is chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, as he would seem to be entitled, being the father of the colony. Betten is county Treasurer, another Pella Dutchman, and Dingman keeps the hotel, runs the mail bus, etc.[153]

During the early years of the settlement the Hollanders transformed the appearance of the country so that what had once been an ocean-like expanse of prairie became dotted here and there with little groves. Nearly every homesteader planted from one to five acres of trees — a work which entitled him to have one hundred dollars for every acre of trees deducted for ten years from the assessed valuation of all his real and personal property, provided he did not plant trees farther than eight feet apart and kept them in a healthy and growing condition. Similarly, those who set out fruit trees not farther than thirty feet apart were to be exempted for five years from taxation on fifty dollars for each acre so planted. Thus tax-payers among the Hollanders received a powerful incentive to plant many acres with forest and fruit trees.[154]

This offer of a premium or bounty by the State, as well as the need of some protection against the icy blasts and blizzards of winter and the heat of summer, stimulated the planting of trees such as cottonwoods, soft maples, box-elders, Lombardy poplars, and willows, all of which grew rapidly upon Sioux County soil. As a rule the Dutch pioneers planted these trees to the north and west of their houses and yards. When little artificial groves began to appear upon the homesteads, the bleak prairie for miles in every direction lost much of its distinctively monotonous aspect.

The legislature of the State of Iowa desired to promote not only the production of timber, so that fence posts and fence rails might later be obtained in abundance, but also wished to encourage the growth of hedges as an excellent substitute for rail fences and barbed wire. As the land in Sioux County became settled and more and more was brought under cultivation, great damage resulted to growing crops from the invasions of live stock. To protect the crops the Sioux County board of supervisors submitted to the voters a State law which permitted property owners to distrain "stock taken in the act of doing damage, between the hours of sunset and sunrise"; and so the "Herd Law" was adopted in the autumn of 1874.

When the general custom of letting cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep run at large and wander where they liked was thus brought to an end, farmers in the new Dutch settlement were forced either to build fences or to keep an eye on their stock. Then it was that men advertised their readiness to herd cattle and horses during the summer. One Hollander secured a large area of rich grass land in the Rock River valley and requested contracts; while another offered to begin herding at two dollars per head as soon as the grass permitted and to continue until the first of October.[185]

During the summer of 1875, when promising farm conditions prevailed in Sioux County, the Orange City settlement claimed 468 families or about 2500 people. There were good buildings, flourishing little groves, excellent gardens, and splendid fields of grain. The Hollanders subscribed $800 for a genuine Dutch wind-mill. As long as this old-fashioned mill ground their wheat into flour it was the one feature of the landscape which told the world of the colony's nationality. But it was soon dismantled and supplanted by a modern steam roller-mill. As one pioneer suggested afterward, it deserved a better fate and should have been preserved as a landmark, as a monument to the early settlers, and around it a park should have been laid out where old settlers' picnics and other community celebrations could have been held.[156]

In the autumn of 1875, when the Dutch farmers were rewarded with a really tremendous harvest, the most memorable incident, suggestive of the community of interest and blood relationship among the Hollanders of Iowa, was a big excursion from Pella to Orange City, a repetition of a journey taken two years before. The proposed jaunt was advertised at a round-trip rate of $5.50, provided at least two hundred and twenty-five persons availed themselves of the opportunity, and a brass band was scheduled to accompany the party. An Orange City editor urged that an elaborate reception be tendered to the guests. "Get quartettes together," he said, "put your organs in shape, string your violins, get out your flags and prepare garlands of flowers! Orange greets Pella: Welcome, thrice welcome!"

When the excursion had to be postponed once owing to bad weather, the following letter appeared in the Dutch newspaper at Orange City, in answer to "Mother's" letter:

> Glad you are coming. Do take good care of the children — tie little strings to their hats. Don't bring any presents — you may bring along a few little car-loads of

lean pigs — they can eat our corn and we can then butcher and eat them. My boys will be busy stacking wheat, making hay, and plowing. Do beware of the politicians who are abroad — whistle occasionally and pull the telegraph wire so that we may know where you are.

One morning early in September, at four o'clock, the Pella excursionists left home after "500 roosters had been sacrificed and 500 more were in danger in case of postponement." The visitors were welcomed with loud hurrahs by their Orange City hosts at East Orange station where eighty vehicles were waiting to convey them to the county seat. Two years before there had been a scene of indescribable enthusiasm at the same station adorned with flags and green twigs. On the day after the arrival the guests from Pella inspected the country and in the afternoon old and young at Orange City laid aside work to celebrate. In the evening Pella's brass band serenaded Orange City's chief men. In the afternoon of the second day hosts and guests gathered at church: prayer was said; Psalms were sung; Rev. Bolks spoke about "Mother's visit"; Rev. Winter replied for the visitors; the choir sang; and after the benediction the congregation followed the band away.

Two days, "days of feasting", were consumed in visiting. Relatives and friends once more enjoyed each other's society and genuine hospitality reigned in every Dutch home. As the colony's leader afterwards remarked, those were "indeed happy days, oases on the desert of life which should long be held in remembrance and do us good." And the men from Pella had nothing but words of praise, encouragement, and flattery for their Sioux County friends and kinsmen.[157]

For a few years after its establishment Holland Township contained an area three times the size of an ordinary township. Nassau Township was reduced to its present size in 1875 by the organization of East Orange Township to the east and Sherman Township to the west. Floyd Township, to the east of Holland, was constituted in 1873. These townships in the southeastern part of Sioux County had a population of nearly 2000 inhabitants in 1875, most of them being Hollanders.

In 1876 West Branch Township with a population primarily Dutch was organized from a part of Holland Township. North of West Branch, Welcome Township was established in 1882; and later a township was named Capel, after that Kapelle in Europe where it is said "the Dutch cut the dykes and let in the sea to defeat the Spanish and again about a century later to flood out the French." The present townships of Sioux County were all in existence in 1885, but those not mentioned here were not originally strongholds of the Dutch element.[158]

To show the relative importance and growth of various parts of the Dutch settlement in the townships named it is interesting to note that congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church were established at Orange City in 1871, at West Branch in

THE HOLLANDERS OF IOWA

HENRY PETER SCHOLTE

THE HOLLANDERS OF IOWA

BY

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The author of this volume on *The Hollanders of Iowa* was admirably fitted for the task. Born of Dutch parents in The Netherlands and reared among kinsfolk in Iowa, he has been a part of the life which is portrayed in these pages. At the same time Mr. Van der Zee's education at The State University of Iowa, his three years' residence at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, and his research work in The State Historical Society of Iowa have made it possible for him to study the Hollanders objectively as well as subjectively. Accordingly, his book is in no respect an overdrawn, eulogistic account of the Dutch people.

The history of the Hollanders of Iowa is not wholly provincial: it suggests much that is typical in the development of Iowa and in the larger history of the West: it is "a story of the stubborn and unyielding fight of men and women who overcame the obstacles of a new country and handed down to their descendants thriving farms and homes of peace and plenty."

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

316573

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This monograph purports to be a history of origins and a sketch of present-day conditions in the principal Dutch settlements of Iowa. It is a study of immigration and colonization rather than a detailed account, year by year, of what has been in most respects a community life of commonplace respectability so characteristic of all large bodies of foreigners in America. In other words it is a series of chapters in the history of the Hollanders of Iowa. The story of the first years of the Dutch settlements in Marion and Sioux counties is one of suffering willingly borne: it is a story of the stubborn and unyielding fight of men and women who overcame the obstacles of a new country and handed down to their descendants thriving farms and homes of peace and plenty.

The history of the Hollanders of Iowa typifies the development of the American West and the spread of the American nation: it is full of details characteristic of the large rural settlements of European immigrants in America. It is a pleasure to trace the streams of immigration which have contributed to produce the American commonwealth. The Hollanders have shown a permanent interest in American affairs and institutions; they are now closely identified with the best interests of democratic government; and with respect to the qualities requisite to success in agriculture they are surpassed by no other class of immigrants from Europe.

Of the movement of Dutch immigrants into the State of Iowa, with a statement of causes and of the singular experiences which the Dutch pioneers underwent, no full or connected account has hitherto appeared in the English language. Concerning the Dutch settlements of Iowa the writer found much widely scattered material. From time to time fragmentary sketches written in attractive style have appeared in English newspapers, magazines, and county histories; but the most valuable and authoritative information is to be obtained from newspapers, pamphlets, and books in the Dutch language. To all these sources the writer has very largely resorted and to them he is greatly indebted, as numerous notes and references will show.

Desirable biographical data relative to Dutch pioneers have been almost entirely relegated to the notes and references for the fairly obvious reason that if the writer had undertaken to insert such material in the text, he would have found himself engaged upon an endless and ungratifying task.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance which he received from many gentlemen (especially Mr. H. P. Scholte and Mr. A. J. Betten) now living among the Hollanders at Pella and in Sioux County: they very generously gave him access to newspaper files and rare Dutch books, copies of which The State Historical Society of Iowa has not been able to add to its valuable collection of materials in the Dutch language. Thanks are due also to the editors of newspapers (mentioned in a separate chapter) for their willing submission to inconvenience while the writer was engaged in his researches: to all these and to other persons the writer is grateful for many courtesies. Especial thanks are due to Dr. Dan E. Clark, Assistant Editor of The State Historical Society, for numerous suggestions, for corrections in the manuscript, and for the index. Finally, this volume would not have appeared if the writer had not been a Research Associate in The State Historical Society working under the direct encouragement of its Superintendent, Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh.

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY

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I

EARLY DUTCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Towards the close of the sixteenth century began the protracted struggle of a handful of brave people against the seemingly invincible power of the wealthiest nation in the world. How the descendants of the liberty-loving Batavi of Roman times, dwelling like their forebears in the same lowlands of the Rhine delta, defied and humbled the armies and navies of Spain; how these hardy Hollanders prospered in the midst of war and finally won national independence and high position in the world — these are the noteworthy facts which make the story of the Golden Age of Holland a classic in historical literature and a cause of pardonable pride to every man with Dutch blood in his veins.[1]

Contemporary with the period of the highest glory of the Dutch Republic, when art, learning, industry, commerce, religious toleration, and democracy flourished side by side as nowhere else in Europe, when little Holland's name was heard in every quarter of the globe, New Netherland came into being in the Western Hemisphere. Dutch merchants, moved by visions of commercial gain, fitted out a little ship in charge of Hendrik Hudson to search for that unknown but alluring northwest sea-passage to China and India, the discovery of which had defied and baffled the most daring navigators of the age. Thus Hudson steered the Half Moon westward, not to Cathay, but into the river which later received his name. This incident proved to be the real beginning of Dutch interest in the American continent; and thereafter merchants began to ply between the Indians of America and the markets of Europe, for the trade in furs and peltries gave promise of much profit.

Approximately all the region which lies between the Connecticut and the Susquehanna rivers was claimed by the Dutch as their exclusive preserve for purposes of trade; but nothing was done to validate this claim until 1624, when the first band of some thirty families emigrated from Leyden and made settlements on Manhattan and Staten islands and at Fort Orange (now Albany).[2] These Walloons, who had formerly fled from religious persecution in the Belgic Netherlands and were not thoroughly Dutch except in religious belief and loyalty to the Republic and who now forsook the city of their adoption to try their fortunes in the wilderness of a New World, came as the special charges of the West India Company, to the decrees of which they were subject in all commercial and political affairs.

Although the Company's charter contained a provision relative to "the peopling of the fruitful and unsettled parts" of New Netherland, there appears to be little evidence that the Company was ever really sincere in promoting emigration from Holland except as a means to its chief end — the monopoly of trading rights. During the early decades of the seventeenth century Dutch ships scoured the high seas in search of Spanish ships, for the spoils of war were preferred to the less remunerative and nobler work of planting a colony in the wilderness.[3] Whenever it was rumored that a truce was about to be declared, the directors of the Company petitioned the States-General of Holland to desist on the ground of the damage which they had done to the enemies of the republic; and when peace was at length concluded with Spain in 1648 the Company became permanently crippled.

During the early history of New Netherland the growth of the Dutch population even for purposes of trade was insignificant. As a matter of fact conditions in Holland were quite unfavorable to the promotion of colonization. While economic and religious causes brought thousands of English to a new England, labor was well rewarded in Holland and religious toleration prevailed in the Dutch provinces. Conditions such as these did not induce emigration to a strange land where the outlook was so uncertain. Furthermore, the Dutch inhabitants in the Hudson River region had not only found very scant means of livelihood, but they also worried much about the dangers from Indians and foreign enemies. The Company, moreover, declared that protection was possible "at a greater expense than the apparent gains to be derived therefrom seem to justify."[4]

To direct Dutch settlers to New Netherland the States-General, urged by the West India Company, adopted a novel measure. By a charter of freedoms and exemptions large tracts along the Hudson River were granted to Dutch burghers who offered to procure a certain number of persons to cultivate the land. This revival of the feudal system of landholding by patroons proved to be a worthless expedient: Dutch inhabitants of America continued to look to the fur-trade as their main source of wealth; and the patroons, instead of concerning themselves with agriculture, "diverted their energies and means in competing with the company for a share of the Indian trade."[5] This colonization policy tended to retard the settlement and prosperity of New Netherland, so that down to the year 1634 a few forts were the chief centers of life — Fort Orange and Fort Amsterdam on the Hudson, Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, and Fort Nassau on the Delaware.

In 1638 the States-General of the Dutch Republic complained that the population of New Netherland was not increasing as it should; that, indeed, the colonists appeared to be decreasing in numbers and to be so neglected by the West India Company that if the matter were not at once attended to foreign princes and potentates would entirely overrun the colony. This was a serious complaint, but it brought no tangible results aside from a resolution to "assist in making and enacting such effectual order regarding the population of New Netherland, and thereunto invite all good inhabitants of these Netherlands by such inducements and pre-eminences as . . . . they shall resolve to offer to all colonists'' who wished to emigrate to a land where they might expect great profits from farming.[6]

Under Governor Kieft conditions in New Netherland assumed no better aspect. It is true that when trade with the Indians was thrown open to all in 1639 a new era began in the history of the colony, communicating a decided impulse to its settlement and to the increase of population, for fresh colonists came not only from the fatherland, but Englishmen came also from Virginia and New England.[7] It may be that free farmers at Esopus, New Paltz, Schenectady, and on Long Island experienced a certain degree of prosperity; but the Indian trade attracted a large number of people who cared little to acquire a permanent domicile in New Netherland: they came for big profits and sacrificed honest dealing with the Indians in order to realize their ambition. They abused the privilege of free trade and provoked the Indians to a series of massacres extending over nearly three years.

For several years the Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland maintained themselves in a most miserable and destitute condition: they appealed in vain to the States-General for aid, and they failed to obtain from the West India Company such supplies as were most urgently required for their support and protection.[8] When in 1644 comparative peace had been restored upon the high seas the Company was urged once more to facilitate emigration from Holland by promising to credit prospective colonists with ocean passage to America and by introducing farm servants and negroes to promote agriculture. Moreover, New Netherlanders were instructed not to scatter but to live together as did the New Englanders in order to protect each other.

In 1649 the people of New Netherland addressed to the States-General of Holland a long petition, enumerating the causes of their colony's wretched condition and proposing certain remedies. First of all, the petitioners complained very bitterly of the inhuman cruelties, tyranny, and misgovernment of the servants of the West India Company — especially Director Kieft. The Directors, they declared, had always been the chief obstruction in the path of progress because they preferred to secure for themselves large profits from the fur-trade rather than to promote solid agricultural prosperity, which alone could guarantee the survival of their colony in America. Indeed, they had listened more often to interested than to sound advice and had given New Netherland so evil a reputation that not only prospective colonists were frightened from setting out to try their fortunes in such a country, but scores of dissatisfied settlers returned to Holland on account of the unsuitable government, the scant privileges, the extortionate prices, and the heavy impost duties. The petitioners called attention also to the superabundance of petty traders and pedlers, to the need of farmers, to the destitution of the inhabitants in general, and to the insufferable arrogance of the Indians.

The inhabitants of New Netherland proposed, among several remedies for the evils of their colony, the abolition of duties and the free conveyance of poor people from Holland. Their humble petition to the States-General was summed up in these words:

> Whenever your High Mightinesses will be pleased to take this Province under your gracious safeguard, and allow your Fatherly protection for this Country and its granted privileges to be made public and manifest throughout the United Netherlands, then would many be attracted towards this Country, from which, on the contrary, every one is discouraged by the Company's harsh proceedings and want of means.[9]

There is no evidence, however, that the Dutch government ever thereafter took an active interest in the welfare of her American colonists — except in 1656 when the States-General ratified the conditions of an agreement between the West India Company and the city of Amsterdam, offering very good encouragement to prospective inhabitants of the city's colony on the Delaware River.[10] It was not until after 1652 that agricultural settlements began to grow in New Netherland, owing to the influx of Walloons, Huguenots, and Waldenses from Europe and Puritans from New England.[11] During the naval wars between England and Holland the province of New Netherland lay quite defenceless, and Governor Stuyvesant's appeals to his profit-loving, money-grabbing superiors went unheeded. Whatever else may be said about the English capture of the colony in 1664, it is fairly evident that a change of masters was not especially distasteful or disadvantageous to the Dutch colonists: they had little to lose and much to gain.[12]

Of the cosmopolitan population of fifteen hundred persons in New Amsterdam in 1664 more than one-half were Dutch. The same is true of the three thousand inhabitants in 1674 when the Dutch regained the colony for a short period of ownership. The entire population of New Netherland when transferred to the English is variously estimated: eight thousand is considered a liberal figure. Of these colonists in 1664, and of the twelve thousand in 1674, two-thirds were probably Dutch, while most of the remainder were English. Agriculture was then beginning to prosper, while trade was profitable and was extending farther inland. Gradually, and especially under a Dutch king on the English throne, the two chief elements of the population of New York merged and fused because they found a community of interest as colonists, entertained a common hostility towards France, and worshipped God in much the same way. In 1667 it was reported that there were three towns and fifteen villages, "besides divers extensive Colonies, bouweries and plantations"; while in 1673 the province consisted of three cities and thirty villages.[13]

It must be admitted that Dutch emigrants were by no means successful as colonizers in America. They were never numerous enough to enable Holland permanently to play a great part in the history of American colonization. To be sure, the Dutch were at that time not an emigrating but a trading people; and yet the failure of their American colony in the seventeenth century should not be attributed wholly to their character as a nation of seamen and traders. That they have always preferred to cultivate domestic virtues rather than a love of conquest and adventure there can be no question.[14]

It has been asserted that the Dutch could never have peopled a continent, on the ground that after forty years of possession "of the fairest part of America they numbered but ten thousand", while the Puritan colonies of New England contained fifty thousand.[15] That this fact should demonstrate the utter incapacity of the Dutch for colonization and their lack of fitness to found a colonial empire does not necessarily follow. Widely different conditions prevailed in England and Holland. Nor is it difficult to explain why the Dutch came chiefly to trade, while the English came to build homes. At that period in the world's history there was no particular reason why large numbers of Dutch emigrants should forsake their European homes to entrust themselves to the uncertainties of a foreign land: as long as civil and religious contentment reigned in Holland the people did not care to live elsewhere.

Dutch colonization in America was really a circumstance attendant upon the religious and political struggle between The Netherlands and Spain. Only large numbers of colonists bent upon economic and religious independence could have coped successfully with the Indian population of New Netherland. The few thousands of Hollanders who ventured to cast in their lot with the New World suffered much from the lack of protection which had been promised to them. All this was to be expected from a commercial corporation actuated wholly by the love of wealth; and so when the Dutch colonists became incorporated into the British colonial empire they had no sufficient excuse for showing a vigorous spirit of nationality. The English Puritans who had sought the shores of America for conscience sake were people of property and education: from sheer necessity they had been compelled to leave their homes and to adapt themselves to the rigors of frontier life. Everything conduced to the spread of the English into America; while in the case of the Dutch the same causes and incentives were almost entirely lacking.

II

DUTCH IMMIGRATION AFTER 1664

It is common knowledge that during the colonial period the English-speaking population of America was constantly reinforced by fresh accessions of people from the British Isles, and that to-day the American nation is dominated by Anglo-Saxon influences. Equally worthy of note is the fact that, although for over a century and a half after the English conquest of New Netherland the immigration of Hollanders from Europe had practically ceased, at least so far as the number of arrivals can be ascertained, the eight or ten thousand Dutch colonists of 1664 nevertheless throve and flourished in the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers in New York and in northern New Jersey and Delaware. There the seeds of a Dutch population took firm root and grew vigorously, as is shown by the history of the one important institution which the United States has inherited from New Netherland — the Dutch Reformed Church.[16]

The influence of Dutch ideas as exemplified by the continuity of the Reformed Church has never been absent in those eastern States where the Dutch originally settled. As a matter of fact the American descendants of the original Dutch settlers have shown that they are tenacious of the customs and ideals which their church organization and home life have preserved and handed down to them. This more than anything else disproves the assertion that early Dutch colonization was but an episode or an event of trifling importance in American colonial history.[17]

Probably no better light can be shed upon the growth of the Dutch element in the United States than that which comes from the history of the Dutch Reformed Church — though of course it would smack of presumption to infer that all descendants of the early Dutch have maintained the church connection of their fathers, or that all Dutch immigrants to America have united with the church. Bearing in mind the fact that Hollanders are endowed with a strong feeling of national pride and are pretty generally partial to ancestral ways and beliefs, it is natural to assume that wherever the Dutch have come together to live they have retained their national institutions, traits, and traditions whenever practicable.

When English domination began in New Netherland there were eleven Dutch churches: four on Long Island at Midwout (Flatbush), Amersfoort (Flatlands), Breuckelen (Brooklyn), and Gravesend; one at Bergen, New Jersey; one at New Amstel (New Castle), Delaware; and five in New York at Manhattan or New Amsterdam, Fort Orange (Albany), Esopus (Kingston), Haarlem, and Bushwyck. Despite the amalgamation of Dutch and English which ensued, the Hollanders remained predominant in the population of New York and continued to speak their native language in the Reformed Church for almost one hundred years; while the Church itself, depending to a large extent upon the state church of Holland, looked in that direction for its ministers until 1772 when national ties were finally broken.[18]

For many years after 1664 the Dutch carried on a successful struggle in New York for the preservation of their religious liberty and church organization, and owing to the oppressions of English governors many emigrated and formed congregations in the valleys of the Raritan and the Millstone in northern New Jersey, a region which on account of its spiritual prosperity has come to be known as "the Garden of the Dutch Church". Here the people afterwards established a college and a theological seminary. At the end of their prolonged fight against the attempt to foist the Anglican Church establishment upon them, the Dutch could boast of an increase from eleven churches in 1664 to thirty-four in 1708.[19]

From such feeble beginnings in 1664 under particularly trying conditions, although the political institutions and language of the Dutch were in course of time almost entirely wiped out and supplanted by those of the English, the Dutch Reformed Church in America developed and prospered until by the year 1840 it comprised a membership of several hundred churches in the States of New York and New Jersey; while a few scattered congregations existed in Pennsylvania, whither a stream of emigration from New Jersey had started towards the close of the eighteenth century. Descendants of Dutch ancestors took a prominent part in the westward movement which set in after the close of the Revolutionary War. They were among the pioneers of western New York and of Kentucky, whence it is said "as from a hive, colonies swarmed off into southern Ohio and Indiana." Indeed, the names of Dutch pioneers can be found throughout the American West. At the same time it would be quite impossible to determine the number of descendants of the original Dutch colonists of New Netherland.[20]

There may have been a slight movement of people from Holland immediately after the peace treaty of 1783, but there is no government record of immigration prior to 1821. Conjecture places the number of immigrants to the United States before 1820 at about 4000 annually, and of these the Hollanders can not have counted more than a small fraction. Statistics indicate that for the first two decades of the record only 2500 Hollanders arrived at American ports, but for the years 1841-1902 inclusive The Netherlands contributed more than 135,000 immigrants to the population of the United States.[21] To be sure, this is a small percentage of the 20,000,000 foreigners who sought American shores; but the Hollanders and their descendants have been a desirable and welcome factor in promoting the development and prosperity of the country.

During the more recent years the Hollanders have formed large communities in the upper Mississippi Valley — chiefly in Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin — though thousands have found homes also in New York and New Jersey. Census returns for 1900 gave these seven States the largest number of foreign-born Dutch, though every State and Territory in the Union contained some Hollanders in its population.[22]

Other indexes suggestive of the numerical strength of the Hollanders in various States of the Union are recent church year-books. While the number of foreign-born Dutch in New York and New Jersey is comparatively small, it appears that of nearly 700 congregations of the Reformed Church in America the former State has over 300, and the latter 125. Then follow Michigan with 62, Iowa with 50, Illinois with 33, South Dakota with 20, Wisconsin with 15, Minnesota with 11, and Pennsylvania with 10. Kansas, North Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Colorado, Washington, Ohio, Indiana, South Carolina, and Maine have a few churches each. Furthermore, there are about 200 congregations of another denomination, the Christian Reformed Church, planted for the most part in the western States and therefore more solidly Dutch than the Reformed Church congregations, whose membership, in the East especially, consists by no means exclusively of Hollanders.[23]

III

HOLLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The causes which brought about the extraordinary migrations from Europe to America during the nineteenth century were primarily economic. No corresponding period in the world's history illustrates more forcibly the well-known simile that population is like a fluid: when the saturation point is reached, emigration is the natural consequence. During the first half of the century the population of nearly every country in Europe reached such density and laborers became so plentiful that the masses of the people were forced to seek a way of escape from degradation and starvation.

In The Netherlands during the early decades of the nineteenth century social conditions were as unfavorable generally as they were everywhere else in Europe. There, religious and economic factors joined hands and caused thousands of discouraged and dissatisfied people to long for a New World. A closer view of the history of Holland reveals the motives which contributed to bring about the first extensive emigration of Hollanders to the primeval forests of Michigan and the virgin prairies of Iowa and other western States.[24]

Upon coming to the throne of Holland in 1814

William I at once turned his attention to the state church which had suffered much humiliation at the hands of Napoleon and the French and which was therefore eager to return to royal favor at whatever cost. He approved a set of general regulations to be used by a central board for administrative purposes. These regulations prescribed the maintenance of the creed as embodied in the Dutch Confession of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Doctrinal Rules of the Synod of Dort of 1618.

Church government was placed in the hands of a general synod composed of delegates from provincial synods, whose selection was to remain under royal control. Ecclesiastical property was transferred to the state; and the clergy were henceforth to receive their salaries from the state exchequer, thus being bound to the king by spiritual and financial ties. Furthermore, the clergy were to be educated at the three universities of Utrecht, Leyden, and Groningen, whose theological professors were by law declared state officers, since they were chosen, appointed, and salaried by the government. Thus the Presbyterian form of church government was reduced to an oligarchy under the king's patronage.[25]

Irregularities in the Church and deviation from its doctrines were conspicuous enough to alarm the orthodox, conservative Christians throughout the country — especially when the general synod, endowed with autocratic powers, did nothing to lessen existing grievances. At length in 1834, under the leadership of a few clergymen, scores of people seceded from the state church and formed small congregations. The seceding clergymen were Henry de Cock, Henry Peter Scholte, Anthony Brummelkamp, S. van Velzen, G. F. Gezelle Meerburg, and Albertus C. van Raalte.[26] Of this group of men, all of whom were excommunicated from the Church, Scholte was undoubtedly the foremost figure. Indeed he has been called the "Father of the Separation", and he it was who later led hundreds of his fellow-countrymen to the State of Iowa.[27]

But King William was a man who would not allow his pet schemes to be overridden. It is almost incredible that a government of the nineteenth century should have stooped to bitter religious persecution — especially in Holland so long famed for her tolerance and freedom of worship. One can not help marveling at the petty nature of the measures taken by the Dutch government to suppress the Separatist movement. Though Scholte and his colleagues were declared unsuitable and unworthy to preach, they were by no means deserted by their congregations. Nor did they desist from preaching. The result was that everywhere small congregations were formed and the new Separatist church became definitely established.

In their endeavors to restore purity of doctrine and to preach God's Word, the Separatist clergymen were hindered in every possible way. Under cover of an article of the Code Napoleon forbidding assemblies of more than twenty persons without a license from the local authorities, the government used every means to disperse Separatist meetings, whether held in barns, in the open air, or in private houses. Thus the police took a hand in breaking up local gatherings; and numerous Separatists were prosecuted and punished with fines or imprisonment. Worst of all, wherever the new movement claimed an especially large number of adherents, the government used its authority to quarter troops in order to overawe the people and prevent mutiny.[28]

The Separatists had, moreover, to suffer all the penalties imposed by law. Scholte, one of their leaders, could write that he had experienced military watches, imprisonments, and the payment of fines and court costs amounting to $3200. But even more intolerable were the taunts and ridicule heaped upon the Separatists by other inhabitants of The Netherlands. Scholte complained that he had been derided, hit with stones and fists, and when hundreds of hands were raised against him he had heard the excited mob cry out, "Kill him, kill him!"[29]

Despite the government's relentless persecution, the religious beliefs of the Separatists spread until they were finally recognized by royal decree in 1839. Seven years later, however, two of their leaders still loudly exclaimed against local government officials who employed every means to postpone the granting of permission to preach as the new law obliged them to do and who, furthermore, received the encouragement of "nearly all who call themselves noble and religious"—although some would gladly have granted what the law enjoined had they not felt "that thereby they would fall into disfavor with authorities higher up." Even as late as 1846 the complaint was sometimes heard that citizens were being dragged into court and fined for the misdemeanor "of using their houses for the worship of God without the government's authority, and for preaching the name of Christ crucified" to more than twenty persons.[30]

In the minds of the Dissenters there was one other object of prime importance, namely, Christian education. Everywhere arose a crying demand for the improvement of the system of popular education; and yet those who wished to take the pains and bear the expense of organizing Christian schools were hindered by the local authorities. They desired the privilege of educating their children in their own schools inasmuch as the state offered only a general education in morals, which neither Jew nor Roman Catholic might refuse. But the government looked upon special schools with unconcealed disfavor and forbade the founding of such institutions.[31]

Just how much effect the religious beliefs of the Dissenters had upon their chances of earning a livelihood can not be stated with certainty. That these people were oppressed, despised, and cast out there can be little doubt. But even so, the mass of laborers in Holland at this time lived upon the verge of starvation. When a small farm was placed on the market for rent or for sale, a score or two of men found it a suitable opportunity for speculation. When a house was to be built, a score of carpenters offered bids. These and many other instances indicate that economic conditions were extremely bad throughout the country.

The masses of the people were being crushed by a system of taxation devised to liquidate the enormous national debt which had been heaped up from years of war. Many branches of industry and commerce had disappeared, although others continued to thrive. Hundreds of ordinary workmen lost their means of earning bread. Even skilled artisans complained of the lack of labor during the busiest season of the year. There was as a consequence so much competition in the labor market that wages were reduced to pathetically low figures. Workmen, upon whom children and sometimes relatives depended, sought in vain for an opportunity to make so much as a bare living. Brought to the point of stealing, thousands hopelessly surrendered themselves to be supported by the state. Eight million dollars were annually expended upon them by the Dutch government; while private benefactions were at the same time enormous. National deterioration was daily being aggravated by the lamentable undermining of trade, the decrease of wages, unscrupulous competition, and exhaustive taxation. "The third estate is disappearing, the capital of the rich increases, and day laborers very often fail in their most serious endeavors to find either regular work or bread."

Scholte declared that though the condition of his fatherland did not yet make emigration inevitable he was forced to acknowledge that if a change were not soon effected a Christian would find it impossible to engage in any business without offending his conscience. He could not close his eyes to the increasing poverty of his fellow-countrymen: from the picture of their struggles and privations he could find no relief.[32]

IV

WHY DUTCH EMIGRANTS TURNED TO AMERICA

SUCH was the condition of things in The Netherlands that thousands of people lived from hand to mouth, the prey of poverty and hunger, stupefied by the hopelessness of securing the necessities of life, and barely enabled through the gifts of the well-to-do to drag out their wretched lives. At the same time many of these unfortunate persons were hopeful and eager to find a place where they might obtain a livelihood, lead quiet lives of honesty and godliness, and educate their children in the principles of religion without let or hindrance. The leaders of the Separatists looked forward to a life of freedom in a land where man would not have to wait for work but where work awaited man, where people would not rub elbows by reason of the density of population, and where God's creation would welcome the coming of man.[33]

When social forces such as these, mostly beyond human control, began to operate with increasing power the Dutch people were not slow to recognize the truth that emigration was absolutely necessary. The seriousness of the situation dawned upon all thinking men — especially upon state officials, who feared that unless the stream of emigration could be directed toward the Dutch colonies their country would suffer an enormous drain of capital and human lives. Accordingly the attention of prospective emigrants was called to the Dutch East Indies — chiefly to the advantages of the rich island of Java, "that paradise of the world, the pearl in Holland's crown".

The religion of the Dissenters, however, was responsible for turning the balance in favor of some other land. To them Java was as a closed door. Beside the fear of an unhealthful climate towered the certainty of legislation hostile to their Christian principles and ideals. Moreover, could poor men afford the expense of transportation thither and could they feel assured of getting land or work in Java? State officials, men of learning, and men of business from several parts of the country were summoned to an important conference at Amsterdam to discuss the whole emigration movement. The Separatist leaders were asked why they should not remain Netherlanders under the House of Orange by removing to the colonies just as the people of the British Isles found homes in the English colonies. Two Separatist ministers appealed to the government to direct the flood of emigration toward Java by promises of civil and religious liberty. But the attempt to secure a free Christian colony in Java produced only idle expectations.[34]

Then it was that the people turned their eyes away from the East toward the United States of North America, a land of freedom and rich blessings where they hoped to find in its unsettled interior some spot adaptable to agriculture and thus rescue themselves from the miseries of a decadent state. To the discontented, ambitious Hollander was presented the picture of a real land of promise, where all things would smile at him and be prepared, as it were, to aid him. It was said that "after an ocean passage of trifling expense the Netherlander may find work to do as soon as he sets foot on shore; he may buy land for a few florins per acre; and feel secure and free among a people of Dutch, German and English birth, who will rejoice to see him come to increase the nation's wealth." Asserting that they could vouch for the truthfulness of this picture, as based on the positive assurances and experiences of friends already in America, the Separatist clergyman-pamphleteers openly declared that they would not hesitate to rob Holland of her best citizens by helping them on their way to America.

Of the people and government of the United States, Scholte, who was destined to lead hundreds of his countrymen to the State of Iowa, at an early date cherished a highly favorable opinion, which he expressed as follows:

> I am convinced that a settlement in some healthful region there will have, by the ordinary blessing of God, excellent temporal and moral results, especially for the rising generation. . . . Should it then excite much wonder that I have firmly resolved to leave The Netherlands and together with so many Christian relatives adopt the United States as a new fatherland?

There I shall certainly meet with the same wickedness which troubles me here; yet I shall find also opportunity to work. There I shall certainly find the same, if not still greater, evidence of unbelief and superstition; but I shall also find a constitutional provision which does not bind my hands in the use of the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; there I can fight for what I believe without being disobedient to the magistrates and authorities ordained by God. There I shall find among men the same zeal to obtain this world's goods; but I shall not find the same impulse to get the better of one another, for competition is open to all; I shall not find the same desire to reduce the wages of labor, nor the same inducement to avoid taxation, nor the same peevishness and groaning about the burden of taxation.

There I shall find no Minister of Public Worship, for the separation of Church and State is a fact. There I shall not need to contribute to the support of pastors whose teachings I abhor. I shall find no school commissions nor school supervisors who prohibit the use of the Bible in schools and hinder the organization of special schools, for education is really free. I shall find there the descendants of earlier inhabitants of Holland, among whom the piety of our forefathers still lives, and who are now prepared to give advice and aid to Hollanders who are forced to come to them.[33]

Scholte, however, never claimed to be a refugee from the oppression of the Old World. He left Europe because the social, religious, and political condition of his native country was such that, according to his conviction, he could not with any reasonable hope of success work for the actual benefit of honest and industrious fellowmen. Very many members of Scholte's emigrant association felt certain that they and their children would sink from the middle class and end their lives as paupers, if they remained in Holland.

Later emigration to America was in no small degree due to a cause which has always operated in inducing people to abandon their European homes. After a period of residence in America, Hollanders, elated by reason of their prosperity and general change of fortune, very naturally reported their delight to friends and relatives in the fatherland, strongly urging them to come and share their good luck instead of suffering from want in Holland. They wrote of higher wages, fertile soil, cheapness of the necessities of life, abundance of cheap land, and of many other advantages. If one's wages for a day's work in America equalled a week's earnings in Holland, surely it was worth while to leave that unfortunate country. Such favorable reports as these were largely instrumental in turning the attention of Hollanders to the New World as the one great land of opportunity.[36]

V

THE JOURNEY TO AMERICA

No sooner had the ferment caused by over-population, scarcity of work, and religious discontent shown its effect in the stir of people desirous of finding relief in the New World than certain leaders arose to give advice and directions. Chief among these were the dissenting clergymen van Raalte, Brummelkamp, and Scholte, who as pamphleteers and speakers exerted a powerful influence upon the emigration movement. They perceived the perils which might flow from indiscreet and indiscriminate emigration, and accordingly they cautioned prospective emigrants against removing to America without all necessary information. Among the numerous dangers which they foresaw and most earnestly pointed out were settling in the fatally hot marsh and rice lands of the slave States and scattering among English-speaking people — two disadvantages which were capable of rendering Hollanders extremely miserable.

In view of such risks the Separatist clergymen not only urged the formation of emigrant associations, but assisted in their organization in various parts of Holland. These societies, which consisted of the heads of families and other members of church congregations and which were not limited to Dissenters, were formed to procure funds to defray the expenses of emigration and to serve their members in every possible way. Profane, immoral, or intemperate persons were not admitted to membership. Avowed atheists, skeptics, and Roman Catholics also were excluded. Those members who could command the means were expected to take charge of one or more poor but worthy persons or families desiring to emigrate.

The leaders at once began to search for a region in America with temperate climate and one from which the inhabitants might easily transport their products: there the emigrant associations might separately or jointly establish themselves. In advocating the purchase of sufficient land in one locality the members of the associations had their own personal interests at heart. They wished to make scattering impossible, to prevent their colony from becoming the hiding-place of those who desired to escape their creditors; and they hoped to secure themselves against undesirable persons in general. But first of all they determined in this way to provide for their own form of religious worship, Christian education, and prompt medical attention.[37] In associations, therefore, the clergyman leaders saw strength — "eendracht maakt macht."

The reason which moved such clergymen as van Raalte and Scholte to encourage people to emigrate in bodies was traceable to the intimate relations existing between them and their congregations. For many years they had striven and suffered together, and at the price of much self-sacrifice they had in some measure realized their aspirations. Would not this whole gain be rendered of no account if the Dissenters spread themselves among strangers in a strange land, and would they not be as sheep without a shepherd? "That they had the courage, in the interests of their followers, to break the chains which bound them to the fatherland is to the honor of Scholte and van Raalte, and sets the stamp of uprightness on their intentions." Thus the destinies of pastors and flocks became linked together.[38]

After much discussion of the subject of emigration at informal gatherings and also in Scholte's periodical devoted to the religious views of the new sect, a formal meeting was called in the city of Utrecht in the month of August, 1846. An emigrant association was formed of nearly seventy well-to-do families, mostly from the province of South Holland. Later many more families from other provinces joined, so that the society is said to have had one thousand three hundred members.[39] A committee of delegates selected from various congregations of Dissenters to draw up rules to govern the emigration movement convened at Utrecht on September 4, 1846. When they computed the amount of land which the association was prepared to buy it was found that the members had subscribed for the purchase of twelve square miles of territory. Later the purchase of much additional land was authorized.

During the summer of 1846 certain members of the Utrecht association decided to undertake the journey to America as soon as possible. Although they had not yet determined which part of the United States would be most suitable for settlement, these Hollanders, numbering thirty persons young and old, being the first emigrants who later founded homes in the State of Iowa, bade farewell to their friends and fatherland on October 2, 1846.

This little band of people paved the way for the exodus of Hollanders the following spring. As forerunners of Dutch emigration to the Middle West of America, in company with home-seekers from other parts of Europe, they set sail from Rotterdam. After being detained by a three days' storm in the English Channel their ship was steered into the North Sea along the eastern coast of England and around Scotland, and thence, with favorable wind and weather they completed forty-five days of sailing and set foot upon American soil at New Orleans, Louisiana, on November 19, 1846. Hendrik Barendregt, the leader of the party, in a letter to Scholte from St. Louis dated December 14, 1846, praised and thanked the Lord "who has shown us day by day that He is with us and out of his abundant love has led and saved us, and given us strength, even more than we could expect." He described the five-thousand-mile water journey, and on conditions in the Mississippi Valley he made many intelligent observations which afforded much instruction and information to oncoming emigrants from Holland.[40] (See Appendix A.)

At the last meeting of the Utrecht association, which was held on the 25th of December, 1846, the members adopted a constitution, elected H.P.Scholte and A. J. Betten president and vice-president respectively, and chose as council J. F. Le Cocq, G. H. Overkamp, A. Wigny, and J. Rietveld, with I. Overkamp as secretary. They fixed upon late March or early April in 1847 as the best time for their departure to the New World.[41] The first to disembark upon American shores in the spring of the year 1847 were Scholte and his family, who had left Rotterdam and traveled by way of London and Liverpool to Boston, arriving on the steamboat "Sarah Sand" early in the month of May after a journey of thirteen days.[42]

When the time came for the great body of members of the Utrecht association to take final leave of relatives, friends, and the fatherland and set out for a country of which they knew comparatively nothing, four three-masters were chartered to convey them to America. The "Nagasaki" left Rotterdam on April the 11th with over two hundred persons on board; and at about the same time the ships "Maasstroom" and "Catharina Jackson" set sail with about one hundred and ninety-seven and one hundred and sixty-nine passengers respectively; while the "Pieter Floris" departed from Amsterdam with men, women, and children numbering about two hundred and twenty-two. In all there were approximately one hundred and sixty families, and these together with many unmarried persons comprised a total of over eight hundred individuals.[43] Their leaders were A. Wigny, Rev. A. J. Betten, G. H. Overkamp, Isaac

Overkamp, J. F. Le Cocq, H. Y. Viersen, J. Rietveld, and J. Smeenk, two of whom were assigned to each ship to exercise general supervision and to take turns in conducting daily religious services on shipboard.

Seven or eight weeks were consumed in making the ocean voyage to America. Despite terrible storms and such discomforts as awaiting one's turn to cook meals on the ship's stove, general peace and satisfaction reigned in the community life on board the sailing-vessels. Though the time passed without serious mishap, two adults and eighteen children found graves in the Atlantic. Several children were born. The emigrants looked forward patiently and hopefully to better things to come in the New World, and during these weeks upon the water they were enabled to become better acquainted with one another: their interests became more closely identified and their aims became more clearly defined. The four little ships finally cast anchor in the harbor of Baltimore, Maryland — the first late in May and the last early in June. Much happiness prevailed when the Hollanders beheld American shores, for it meant the end of a tedious ocean trip.

Thus the first large organized body of emigrants who forsook the intolerable conditions of The Netherlands willingly submitted to inconvenience and suffering in order to find a better life in America; but they were to experience still greater discomforts and griefs before finally establishing themselves upon the prairies of Iowa.[44]

VI

FROM BALTIMORE TO ST. LOUIS IN 1847

As PRESIDENT of the Utrecht emigrant association Scholte preceded his flock to America, landing at Boston two or three weeks before the little fleet of sailing-vessels entered the harbor of Baltimore. He visited Albany, New York City, and Washington in search of all kinds of information that might be useful and necessary in determining where the proposed colony of Hollanders should be established, and of his experiences in eastern States he later wrote a detailed account.[45]

It was a part of Scholte's work to investigate the best means of inland transportation for the Hollanders who were coming. He was thus enabled to come into touch with a class of persons all too common at that period in the history of immigration to the United States. These "kidnappers and deceivers", like bands of hungry wolves, stormed each incoming ship of European emigrants. In their scheming attempts to gain the foreigner's confidence, they manifested the utmost concern in his welfare, warned him of the danger of falling into the snares of liars, and offered to conduct him to a good lodging place and to explain the best and cheapest mode of travel in America.

Every transportation office at American ports was said to have such men in its service. As a means of exploiting the purses of foreigners the system proved to be so insidious that Scholte could not confidently recommend a reliable office. He later urged emigrating Europeans to be prepared to speak English, and above all, to familiarize themselves with North American conditions before leaving their homes, so that they might personally study and investigate steamboat and railway connections in America.

Scholte naïvely observed that these "ronselaars" at American ports had become "so accustomed to see incoming ships filled with half-starved Irishmen or ill-smelling Germans that the rumor of the coming of so many Hollanders, with money in their pockets and clean looks besides, goaded their zeal anew to give chase after what people here have already quite generally learned to call 'willempjes'." Among the men whose appetite for these ten-florin gold pieces or "little Williams" had suddenly been whetted were many Hollanders who were acquainted with the personal history and circumstances of some of their oncoming countrymen or were informed by allies equally concerned in Holland. Scholte wrote from Iowa that one could form no adequate conception of this branch of industry in American harbors: "a man should almost be able to read their hearts if he wishes to be secure from paying toll in one form or another to this host of unofficial officers."

Aroused by what he had learned of the American commercial world in the ports, and especially at New York City, Scholte recognized the necessity of meeting the vessels which bore his followers; and when he received the glad tidings that one ship had reached its destination and later that the others were in sight, he hastened by rail to Baltimore where he "could rejoice in the safe arrival of those with whom I should henceforth live in common."[46]

Baltimore, then described as a large city with hundreds of ships anchored or moored in its harbor, and chickens, hogs, and cattle running loose upon its muddy streets, shocked the Hollanders who were accustomed to seeing orderly, well-kept highways in city and town and gravel roads throughout the country. Wearied by weeks of monotonous sailing, they expected to see a picture more attractive than that which presented itself at their introduction to "the land of promise". The journey overland they hoped would be more pleasant and more varied; but their first impressions were frankly disappointing. The sight of a bustling sea-port with ill-kept streets and make-shift buildings unpleasantly checked any rising enthusiasm.

Americans had not in a long time seen foreigners who appeared so neat and brought so much property with them. Various newspapers reported the arrival of the Dutch emigrants; and some accounts "were so exaggerated that one would almost believe the treasures of Peru had been transported to the New World in the boxes and baskets and packs o these people from Holland, which gained strength i many places because the Hollanders usually had to exchange their gold money in order to pay for things." The latter circumstance was also instrumental many times in persuading Americans "to charge us more than they were accustomed to take from Irish or Germans."[47]

Early in June, 1847, the Hollanders commenced their journey from Baltimore into the American interior, finishing the first stage by rail as far as Columbia, Pennsylvania, a town which lay at the junction of two railroads and a canal. Indeed, people traveled from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh by what was then called the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railway — for the construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad from Harrisburg was not begun until 1847 nor completed until 1854.

At Columbia the immigrants were packed "like herrings" into canal-boats and conveyed nearly two hundred miles up the beautiful valleys of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers with their great wooded ridges and picturesque scenery to Hollidaysburg at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains. From there they had the unique experience of being "portaged" up the mountain slope: they were placed in cars, drawn up a series of inclined planes by stationary locomotives, and passing through a tunnel near the mountain-top, they were let down inclined planes on the western slope to Johnstown, a distance of nearly forty miles. Thence they continued by canal down the Conemaugh Valley for over one hundred miles to Pittsburgh.[48]

Having arrived at Pittsburgh from beyond the Alleghanies, the Hollanders continued westward by a route equally historic, the Ohio River, which in those days was the principal means of communication between the East and the Mississippi Valley. Steamboat traffic on this river was then just at the beginning of its greatest prosperity. Through this so-called "Gateway to the West" the Hollanders reached the Mississippi River, which they ascended as far as St. Louis, having covered one thousand miles by steamboat.

Three weeks were consumed in this journey overland to St. Louis. Although the newcomers saw much wonderful scenery and marveled at young America's gigantic strides, they found American methods of travel very unpleasant and fatiguing. Mothers of large families of young children were driven almost frantic. Indeed, the hearts of all the immigrants were constantly filled with anxiety. Nearly three months of ceaseless motion on the journey from their homes in Holland to the American interior had severely tried their patience, and enough had happened "to extinguish their last spark of poetry."[49]

The immigrants were thankful to stop for a breathing spell at St. Louis, for they deemed it best to wait until a site should be found for their colony. All received a glad welcome from the small band of countrymen who had already passed several months in St. Louis. For so many people not enough dwellings were to be found at once; accordingly, wooden sheds were hastily constructed to accommodate them. Then early in July, 1847, in a “booming” frontier city of thirty thousand people, they set about to look for work, “wherein some who like to work were very successful, while others who had formed a picture of America like children have of Cocagne were less fortunate in finding what they did not seriously seek.”

Of the eight hundred emigrants who left Holland twenty lost their lives upon the Atlantic, and four are said to have died on the journey from Baltimore. “At St. Louis, however, the number of deaths was larger. The unusual experiences of the trip, the cramped quarters at St. Louis, the extraordinary heat in that rapidly growing city, the irregular and careless consumption of food and drink, and the disregard by some of Dutch cleanliness caused illness and consequent death.”[50]

VII

THE RECEPTION OF SCHOLTE AND THE DUTCH IN AMERICA

AT BOSTON Scholte remained just long enough to give his family a few days of rest after the ocean journey. Here he soon perceived that Americans were not only frank in their friendliness but also genuinely concerned about the emigration from Holland. At the same time he records that he failed to find a community of spiritual belief in "that capital of American rationalism."

Scholte next went to Albany where he was openly welcomed by the good Christian people of the city and given an opportunity to preach the gospel to the Hollanders who had but recently arrived from Europe and to the older inhabitants who either could still speak Dutch or merely recalled that it was the language of the founders of their city and State. To Scholte it was a striking experience to be asked immediately to preach God's Word in one of the principal churches in a land where he was a stranger, "while", as he writes, "in the land of my birth most public places for the worship of God were closed to me, and even those who in their homes called me brother in Christ would not have dared to allow me to take charge of services in their churches". Such was the kindness which he received at the hands of ministers in and near New York City and at Pittsburgh that when he wrote about it later, he confessed: "Had I not been bound to our Association, I certainly could not have withstood the pressure of persons who urged me to stay in the State of New York and once more to hold regular services in the Dutch language."

Everywhere among the Christian people of America it appears that Scholte discovered a hearty and wide-awake interest in the emigration from Holland. "I believe", he wrote, "that in general they cherish a too lofty opinion of us. In their conversation and newspapers we are represented as resembling the God-fearing Pilgrims who first settled in the United States. They regard our coming to this land of civil and religious liberty as one of God's blessings on their country. . . . Oftentimes a sense of shame and embarrassment comes over me when I stop to look at myself and our Association, and then consider the high thoughts which people entertain of us, and see that, while the Germans who come here are less highly esteemed, the Hollanders are held in honor and are often placed on an equality with Americans."

And Scholte could testify that the Hollanders received favorable treatment at the hands not only of individual Christians and Christian churches, but also of State officials and State assemblies. For, he said, "I myself had an experience of this sort at Albany, where the legislature had just convened and I wished to look on for a moment. Recognized by one of the members, I was compelled to take a seat in the midst of them. How different from Holland! In the land of our birth branded and treated as a despised congregation, misunderstood by everyone, shoved aside, trampled upon and bruised; in the land of strangers and above all in its most respectable part, honored and treated as a costly gift of God to improve their country!"

At St. Louis where the Americans did not understand the Dutch language and had scarcely thought of Hollanders before, the immigrants were just as cordially welcomed as in the East; and so long as they remained in the city, a Presbyterian congregation allowed them the free use of a spacious basement room for regular Sunday services, providing heat when necessary, and even helping the needy sick. The Hollanders were also permitted to take advantage of the instruction in English afforded by the Presbyterian Sunday-school.

Of their reception in America one of the Hollanders afterwards wrote: "With none too much praise can one speak of the good-will, accommodation, and direct aid with which the Dutch emigrants met at places where they stopped, not least at St. Louis." As for their willingness to help and kindness to oblige, Americans were said to put the Hollanders to shame, and Scholte could say in conclusion: "In this way America speaks and thinks, in this way America treats the Hollanders who were so oppressed in their native land in matters civil and religious that they were forced to leave. That God has done for us".[31]

VIII

THE CHOICE OF A HOME IN IOWA

BEFORE the departure of Scholte and his association from Holland another leader of the Seceders, van Raalte, had established a Dutch settlement in the State of Michigan. Van Raalte wrote to his former fellow-countrymen in Europe that he preferred Michigan to Iowa or Wisconsin because his colony lay near the large cities of Milwaukee, Racine, and Chicago, and the Illinois Canal. It was therefore conveniently situated for eastern and southern markets; besides, railroads were spreading throughout the State, and the large areas of government forest land, though very cheap, were very valuable. Van Raalte further asserted that the climate farther south was very unhealthful, and that upon the unanimous recommendation of trustworthy men he had been obliged to look away from Iowa to Michigan as his choice. As his reasons for selecting timber lands he urged that they were more healthful than fresh-plowed prairie, and demanded from people of small means smaller expenditures of money at the beginning, since they yielded lumber for houses and barns, abundance of work for many classes of artisans, good crops from the clearings, and rich grass for dairy farming.[52]

Van Raalte expressed a hope that his friend

Scholte would also conduct his association to Michigan rather than to Iowa, where he felt convinced the Hollanders could not do so well. Indeed, when Scholte was at New York he received information from the little band of Hollanders at St. Louis that van Raalte had invited them to come to Michigan, but that after some correspondence and the inspection of other lands they had decided not to accept his invitation. Teunis Keppel, one of their number who had been appointed in Holland as a member of the committee to investigate various localities in the American interior, had made a trip to Michigan in order to make a personal examination and prepare a faithful report on conditions there.[53]

During the short time which he spent in cities of the East, before he joined his association at Baltimore, Scholte did not forget the colony founded by his colleague in the woods of Michigan. Indeed, he was forcibly reminded of it when collections of money were taken up in the churches of New York to enable the Michigan Hollanders to build a saw-mill. Not only did Easterners not recommend to him the Dutch settlement of Michigan, but a friend who had journeyed from Wisconsin to see Michigan with his own eyes wrote to Scholte at Albany, alleging that he had been so unfavorably impressed that he returned at once to Wisconsin.[54]

Scholte turned his attention away from the Michigan colony as a desirable region because it lay too far north, because it was destitute of suitable roads and sufficient arable land on account of the dense growth of timber, and lastly because it lay too near the Indians and was too far removed from other settlements of whites. He expressed his conviction that the farmers who had spent their lives in the level haylands and grain-fields of Holland could not accustom themselves to the unusual battle with forests nor find pleasure in the constant presence of tree stumps in their meadows and cultivated fields. As early as May, 1847, Scholte had convinced himself that Iowa or a part of Illinois would be most suitable, but he judged "that a good locality is recommended by telling not what people may do there but what they have done and are doing".[55]

In coming to the conclusion that his colleague's site for a colony was ill-advised, Scholte assured the people that he did not wish to detract from the reports concerning the fertility of the soil in Michigan, nor from the value of the timber land, nor "from the pleasure of hearing the warble of birds in the cool shade of virgin forests"; but he had experienced enough of real life to know that stumps of trees were disagreeable obstacles to farmers. Besides, he felt certain "that the Hollanders who were coming to North America were more prosaic than poetic and consequently thought not so much of pleasing their eyes and ears as of buying suitable land for farms, the easier to cultivate, the better." He knew perfectly well that the farmers who made up the majority of his association were eager to own pastures for dairy purposes, to use plow and harrow on the soil, and not at all inclined "to prefer ax to spade or to become dealers in wood." And in answer to van Raalte's favorable report on the healthfulness of Michigan, Scholte averred that while he was reading some newspaper testimonials at New York advertising a certain kind of pills he came across a letter from the Michigan colony praising the pills and ordering more, and he thereby became "convinced that people there as everywhere else in the world had to wrestle with indisposition and disease!"[56]

The rumor of the coming of so many well-to-do Hollanders preceded Scholte, and no sooner had he reached America than he was stormed from all sides with offers of land so alluring that he was not surprised, he said, if unsuspecting foreigners fell into the snares prepared by speculators. But Scholte was not to be tricked into jeopardizing the future peace and happiness of his followers. Consequently he went to the trouble of investigating as carefully as possible all the opportunities offered by various States. By means of letters of recommendation given him by the American consul in Holland and with the help of influential friends he was enabled to get abundant and reliable information. At Washington the government officials surprised him by their civility and general willingness to serve: they not only answered his questions, but "all free of cost" presented him with printed documents and later sent him a set of maps showing the location of saleable government lands.

Scholte declared that while he was gathering information in the older States he frequently heard the remark that it would be extremely difficult to find unoccupied lands for his people unless they were willing to be cut off from intercourse with all human beings except the Indians. He judged that the attention which they had directed toward the western States as a result of previous investigations conducted in Holland was excellent evidence of God's guidance.[57]

Not until the whole association had reached St. Louis was the last step taken to decide where the Hollanders should build their homes: a committee of investigation, consisting of Scholte, Isaac Overkamp, John Rietveld, Teunis Keppel, and Gerrit van der Pol, set out from St. Louis to select a suitable site for the settlement. There were extensive areas still open to occupation in the States of Iowa and Illinois, but they were so far removed from wood and water as to be quite ill adapted to foreigners unaccustomed to American pioneer ways. The committee of "spies", however, resolved to examine the Iowa lands first, and in case good lands were not available there to visit northern Illinois.[58]

The nearest saleable lands in southeastern Iowa lay in what was called "The Half-Breed Tract", established in 1824 by the United States government in Lee County for the half-breeds of the Sac and Fox Indians and later sold by them to other persons. Scholte had already conferred with the leading men of a New York land company which owned a large portion of this tract, with the result that he had become suspicious of their title. Accordingly, after making a close examination of the state of land titles, the committee was convinced that most of the possessors were not owners and that a purchase from them would only expose the Hollanders to the unpleasantness of law-suits.[59]

The committee thereupon resorted to the United States Land Office at Fairfield, Iowa, where unsold government lands could still be bought or "preëmpted" at $1.25 per acre. Scholte presented a letter of introduction to Ver Planck van Antwerp, a Knickerbocker who happened to be the government Receiver at the Fairfield office. Mr. van Antwerp showed the committee of Hollanders maps of Iowa indicating unsold lands. He also informed them that the best areas had already been occupied and that, although many of the first settlers had not yet paid the government, they were nevertheless protected in their rights because they had worked to bring their claims under cultivation.[60]

Scholte once more exhibited his qualities of leadership when he persuaded the members of the committee that instead of buying the land of settlers who had clear titles and who would, therefore, be loath to sell their farms except at very high prices, the Hollanders should buy out the pioneers who had not yet secured clear titles to their claims. As Scholte had once before expressed it, "a good locality is recommended by telling not what people may do there, but what they have done and are doing".

While the other committeemen went to inspect the country around Fairfield and gain all possible information from the inhabitants, Scholte busied himself with maps in the Land Office. Incidentally he applied to Mr. van Antwerp to recommend a guide — some man who had dealt with American pioneers in the neighborhood and was therefore acquainted with them. Shortly afterward, while attending a child's funeral, Scholte met a Presbyterian minister, through whom he came to know a Baptist who had been engaged for nearly six years as a missionary preacher or circuit rider among the pioneers of southwestern Iowa. This man was Rev. M. J. Post.

When he learned who Scholte was and what he wanted, Mr. Post at once recommended two localities in Iowa as suitable for the proposed Dutch colony, and consented to act as a guide for the committee. On July 29, 1847, before any rumor of their plan could precede them, the committee and guide drove across country from Fairfield a distance of nearly seventy miles to the northeastern corner of Marion County. Scholte later gave the following report of the committee's operations:

> We began straightway [on Thursday] with the man at whose house we had dinner at noon, and with him agreed upon the price of his farm, reserving the right to give him a definite answer not later than one o'clock Saturday, because we wanted to be assured of the other farms first. He gave us a short list of the various settlers, and by constant riding before darkness set in we had every farmer's promise to sell at a stipulated price. Some whom we did not well trust were bound by cash payments in the presence of wit-

nesses. Our work, however, was now but half done, for we had to have access to the Des Moines River also. Early Friday morning we rode thither; there too the settlers suspected nothing, and after coming to terms with each one separately by evening we had bound them all till Monday. Saturday we appeared at the appointed time and place, when written contracts to be executed within one month's time were signed by them as sellers and by me as purchaser. . . .

On Sunday I heard two excellent sermons by our guide and agent; on Monday we signed contracts with settlers near the river; and on Tuesday we commenced our journey back to St. Louis, to convey to the members of our Association the glad tidings that we had found a good place for our homes, and to make preparations for the departure of a first column.[61]

IX

THE ARRIVAL OF THE HOLLANDERS IN IOWA

On July 4, 1846, an Iowa author of note gave expression to the following thought: "Here we behold the emigrant crossing the majestic river with the bible, the axe, and the plough — emblems of peace, prosperity and power. You may point me to Caesar, to the armies of Alexander and Napoleon, triumphant with the laurels of victory; yet history never presented a spectacle half so sublime as the long train of moving emigrants, going forth to consecrate the pathless prairie to freedom and a lofty civilization."[62] The man who penned these words was thinking only of the trains of covered wagons which bore emigrants from Ohio, Indiana, and the States farther east. He made no reference to the fact that at that very time Europeans were crossing the ocean to try their fortunes in the western country.

No sooner had the five committeemen reported their work to the expectant Hollanders at St. Louis than amid general rejoicing they prepared to journey northward. All were eager to reach the end of their tedious travels — all were ready to establish permanent homes upon American soil in a neighborhood which they could henceforth call their own. But impatience did not overwhelm their discretion. Inasmuch as nearly nine hundred persons would find it very difficult to subsist in an almost wholly unpeopled country and since very many of them were engaged in profitable labor at St. Louis, it was deemed most advisable that only the larger part of the emigrant band should go ahead and prepare for the coming of those who were left behind.

Some five or six hundred of the entire body of Hollanders, therefore, bade good-bye to their countrymen and to the Americans who had helped them during their enforced sojourn in St. Louis. They took passage on a Mississippi River steamboat and within two days reached Keokuk, the "Gate City of Iowa". Here they were met by a large concourse of curious persons — some attracted by the rumor of the coming of so many foreigners and others actuated by a keen desire to supply possible needs at extortionate prices. Here also the Hollanders performed the sad duty of burying the bodies of three of their number who had died since leaving St. Louis.

Shortly after their arrival at Keokuk the immigrants were greeted with a deluge of rain which very perceptibly dampened their ardor and delayed their preparations; but after a number of the party had purchased horses and wagons and other things necessary for the journey, bag and baggage were loaded upon the great rumbling wagons of that pioneer day, and then commenced the final lap of a long and wearisome journey half-way across the continent.

Some of the little army of invasion rode, while others were obliged to be content with walking.[63]

As they journeyed from the highly romantic position of Keokuk at the foot of the rapids of the Mississippi River up one of the richest valleys of the West and along the ridge road on the divide between two heavily timbered rivers, the Hollanders beheld a beautiful stretch of green country, the haunt of Indians but fifteen years before and a part of which had been occupied by settlers for only three or four years.

As these emigrants from Holland traversed Mahaska County just before reaching the site of their future colony, they were observed with interest by a pioneer woman who has preserved the following picture of them:

> And when they came along the road with various kinds of teams, we gazed in wonder at their quaint and unfamiliar appearance. Their dress was strange to us. Women were perched on high piles of queer looking chests and boxes and trunks, many of them wearing caps, but no bonnets. Some of the men, and women too, wore wooden shoes.[64]

At last they halted upon the site selected by the committee, being followed a little later by the wagon train of baggage. This was late in the month of August, 1847. Great must have been their disappointment to find that only a pile of boards and two poor log-houses marked the spot where they were now to settle. The contract which Scholte had previously made with certain Americans for the construction of fifty log cabins and for the delivery of a certain amount of lumber before the association arrived from St. Louis had not been carried out at all.

To a people fresh from the older civilization of Europe, the entire absence of satisfactory accommodations and conveniences must have been especially disheartening. To be sure many of them had been accustomed to rural life in Holland, but that life represented a continuity of development since the early years of the Christian era. They had left a soil which had been subjected to cultivation for nearly two thousand years, and they had lived in houses which though small were at least comfortable. Now they were to learn what it was to grow up with a new country — what it meant to conquer a wilderness.

"Imagine a number of bakers, tailors and shoemakers, painters, office-clerks, business managers and such like, who had all their lives been used to the city life of Europe — some of whom hardly knew what a cow or pig looked like, nor had the slightest knowledge of farm implements; who had left neat and comfortable homes and had never known or seen others — imagine such people suddenly transplanted to an open prairie, with here and there some timber, seeing nothing but grass, trees and sky, and finding no protection against the elements!" And the Dutch historian added: "It takes but a few lines to tell it, but to live it is something wholly different."

It was indeed a unique experience for these Hollanders to come from a foreign land, where they had spent their lives closely confined in cities and towns and on small well-kept farms, to the solitude and isolation of life upon the American frontier. They had now arrived upon the boundless expanse of the prairies of Iowa to partake of all the hardships incident to the struggle with a new and strange environment.

But if in that summer of 1847 the Hollanders indulged in no spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm, it was because they could not realize the tremendous latent possibilities of a region which was destined to be transformed into one of the garden spots of Iowa. If the face of nature, as they saw it then, presented none of the features characteristic of their transatlantic fatherland's peasant and urban life, it did not lack the qualities necessary to provide ambitious Europeans with all the material advantages of life. Among the Hollanders who were now to begin years of struggle in Iowa were people "who had the habits and preferences of a well-ordered life in cities of habitation, where the current of existence was tranquil and regular except when disturbed by the storms of war or religious persecution", while others "were for the most part peaceable farmers, whose ideal of earthly felicity was the well-filled barn and the comfortable fire-side."[65]

X

MARION COUNTY AND ITS FARMS IN 1847

THE Hollanders found that the claims and government lands which their leader, Scholte, had purchased lay in the northeastern corner of Marion County in Jefferson and Lake Prairie townships. From the highest point they beheld a vast expanse of undulating prairie covered with long wiry grass and wild flowers, dotted here and there with little groves of native timber, sloping gently toward the dark and heavily timbered valleys of two large rivers, the Skunk and the Des Moines, which flowed southeastward and parallel about ten miles apart. Under a clear sky the landscape extended for many miles in every direction. Then too were visible some of the crude log cabins and other little buildings of the widely-scattered homesteads of American pioneers, and small fields of Indian corn and other grain enclosed in the picturesque, zigzag rail fences of that primitive day.[86]

Marion County lay in a vast stretch of country which had been ceded by the Indians to the United States government in 1842. This immense area, known as "The New Purchase", was not thrown open to homeseekers until May 1, 1843, after the Indians had in silence once more vanished further to the westward. On the 10th of June, 1845, Marion County was established; and though it constituted one of the fairest portions of the Territory of Iowa in April, 1846, it could claim a population of not more than fifteen hundred souls. Its only considerable town was Knoxville, the seat of justice.[67]

In 1847 Iowa City was the State capital, while Fort Des Moines, the future seat of government, had but recently been evacuated by United States Dragoons. The Hollanders had come, therefore, to live upon the outskirts of civilization at a time when the vanguard of hardy pioneers advancing to conquer the great American West had just reached and occupied the central portion of the State of Iowa.[68]

Here upon the western American frontier Scholte secured the title to eighteen thousand acres of excellent land, a very small part of which consisted of the scattered farms of the original settlers, and the remainder of government land, much of which was covered by warrants issued to veterans of the Mexican War as remuneration or reward for military service. A wealthy citizen of Keokuk aided Scholte in buying up these land-warrants for one hundred and sixty acres at from $80 to $100 apiece. Other government land was purchased at $1.25 per acre.[69]

When Scholte and his colleagues visited Marion County to investigate its possibilities, they had only limited authority from the association and insufficient association funds. Scholte, however, did not hesitate to act upon his own responsibility. He purchased not only government lands and the farms, but also crops, stock, and other personal property, being glad to supply from his own purse the necessary money for that purpose because he perceived "the excellent quality and exceptional fertility of the soil and the facility of cultivation".[70]

Scholte took precautions to make his payments of money directly to the United States government in order to be assured of the title to the claims. Thus he insured himself against deceitful speculators. Of course he paid the original settlers, who numbered about thirty, what they demanded as a reasonable return for their improvements on the land. From the amount of purchase-money and the government price he was able to calculate how much the land would cost per acre and what each subscriber's share would be. Lots were drawn to fix the order of landowners and the numbers of the sections to which each owner was to be assigned, whereupon a surveyor could proceed to measure off the areas for which the members of the association had subscribed in Holland.[71] Such were some of the steps preliminary to the realization of Dutch community life in Iowa.

XI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH COMMUNITY

NEARLY six hundred foreigners in an unsettled country must have presented a scene of great bustle and industry in the late summer and autumn of 1847. First of all they had to provide immediate shelter of some sort; and then they proceeded to erect more permanent, substantial dwellings as a necessary protection against the rigors of an approaching Iowa winter. Of the inadequate quantity of lumber which they found they constructed simple sheds which afforded cover to many families. Other families were housed in the log cabins and other buildings of the American settlers who vacated their homesteads as quickly as possible. But a majority of the immigrants commenced house-keeping in this wild land much after the manner of primitive people.

Shortly after their arrival on September 2, 1847, the Hollanders engaged a surveyor to lay out eight blocks of a new town. Later more space was added; and for many years the streets and the avenues bore the names which Scholte gave them. The streets were called Extension, Addition, Columbus, Washington, Franklin, Liberty, Union, Independence, Peace, South End, University, and Oskaloosa; while the avenues were Entrance, Inquiring, Perseverance, Reformation, Gratitude, Experience, Patience, Confidence, Expectation, and Accomplishment. In Holland it appears that Scholte had prayed that God would "prepare for His people another PELLA, and let the motto of its inhabitants be in truth: In God is our hope and refuge. In Deo Spes Nostra et Refugium."

Pella was platted in order that all persons who wished might build houses at once.[72] Despite the lack of sufficient ready lumber, the first Dutch city-builders in Iowa showed their practical, workday character by using whatever materials nature furnished close at hand. They received an early visit from an Iowa tourist who had lectured with success in various parts of England. This gentleman noticed that "the men in blanket coats and jeans were gone", and that a race of broad-shouldered men "in velvet jackets and wooden shoes" was there, "rejoicing in the antiquity of nearly a month." He saw most of them living "in camps, the tops covered with tent cloth, some with grass and bushes, the sides barricaded with countless numbers of trunks, boxes and chests of the oddest and most grotesque description that Yankees or Hawkeyes ever beheld." [73]

The Hollanders, however, were not satisfied with dwellings so crude, so characteristic of a lower stage of civilization, like Indian tepees. They quickly constructed "dug-outs" or "sod-houses"— so-called because their interior lay partly below and partly above the surface of the ground. Earth was removed to the depth of a few feet, and blocks of tough prairie sod several inches thick were then piled up to complete the upper portion of the walls. Roofs consisted simply of branches covered with prairie or slough grass, straw or reeds; while doors of sackcloth and interwoven twigs, and chimneys built of sod blocks completed the sombre exterior of what came to be called "Strooijen Stad" (Straw Town).

Despite the appearance of these early homes, which indicated a partial but compulsory reversion to a more primitive state of nature, these sod houses in many cases served as human habitations for nearly two years. As makeshifts against exposure to all sorts of wintry weather, these inelegant quarters stood until their occupants were better able to erect more sanitary and substantial houses; and although never entirely water-proof, they provided a considerable measure of comfort and satisfaction, partly due no doubt to the mildness of the first Iowa winter.[74]

Later on, as lumber became more plentiful, frame buildings, both cabins and barns, gradually supplanted the temporary, unsanitary shacks and hovels. Like true American backwoodsmen, the Hollanders quickly learned to thank their rivers for the incalculable advantage of forests of fine hard-wood trees. They found that their settlement embraced a quantity of excellent timber sufficient to supply all needs. But during the early months and years the supply of lumber to be obtained from American-owned sawmills on the Des Moines River was so limited and the demand so great that Scholte availed himself of the water-power of the Skunk River, installed machinery in a mill of his own, and thus early in 1848 began to manufacture lumber for the Dutch colony.[75]

In 1856 the growing city of Pella, beautifully situated on a high and spacious prairie plateau, presented a pleasing view with its rows of simple, wooden houses, interspersed with a few red brick dwellings. Hollanders in the fatherland during the nineteenth century were accustomed to living in brick houses; they shrugged their shoulders and pitied those Americans who were forced to live in flimsy, wooden structures; but inhabitants of Pella declared that they needed no pity because they had learned to find a combination of comfort, convenience, and even beauty in these neat, little dwellings, which were in many respects so desirable that as "to style and general taste they did not need to bow before the low brick cottages of Europe."[76]

Although the city of Pella grew and developed like any other frontier town of the early days, city-building by the Hollanders was not the primary object of their coming to Iowa. Most of the people were farmers, and even those who had never tilled the soil found such abundant opportunity to become farmers that from the beginning the Dutch colony of Marion County was distinctively an agricultural community. It is true, as someone has said, that "a new land offered the opportunity, a wild land presented the necessity, a rich land held out the reward, to men who were eager to do something."

That farming was the first thing to come into notice among the Hollanders as furnishing the best and surest prospects was a matter of course. One man after another, upon getting possession of land, "as quickly as possible harnessed all his united strength to make the earth yield up her rich treasures."[77]

Families of Hollanders entered the homesteads vacated by their first American occupants and at once set about to care for the stock and crops. There was abundant work for all hands to do. Besides the building of cabins and barns, the newcomers busied themselves with general farm duties. They soon discovered the truth of the general American newspaper report that they had settled in one of the best parts of Iowa: they found a soil suitable for the growth of all kinds of products when once the tough prairie sod was broken. On the farms which Scholte had bought grew excellent summer and winter wheat, oats, buckwheat, flax, hemp, and Indian corn, as well as vegetables of fine quality. In the timber grew wild fruits in profusion.[78]

For the live-stock, which American pioneers customarily allowed to roam loose upon the open prairie and in the timber summer and winter, the Hollanders provided some sort of shelter. They were especially pleased with the rich milk of the American cows; and they early convinced themselves that they could produce butter and cheese which not only compared favorably with the best in Holland, but also promised to be of incalculable value to them because the butter and cheese of their American neighbors were quite generally bad and sometimes unfit for consumption. Indeed, the making of butter and cheese became a considerable industry during the early years, and "Iowa Cheese" became famous in the St. Louis market, commanding the highest price. Not only was dairy-farming a popular occupation from the start because the Hollanders had brought all the secrets with them from Europe, but stock-raising also became profitable in the course of time. Especially did the foreigners learn the value of one of America's staple products, the hog, which they had always looked upon as a comparative curiosity in Europe and now came to regard as an asset characteristic and typical of western farm-life. Indeed, early Iowa pioneers allowed their hogs to run loose in the woods, thus foraging for themselves and requiring no attention until they were ready to be fattened when Indian corn was so abundant that they could be quickly prepared for market and sold in the shape of ham, bacon, and lard.[79]

Most difficult for the Hollanders was the task of learning to accustom themselves to the demands of frontier life. Transplanted from Europe to the westernmost point reached by American home-seekers, dwelling upon that "irregular, imaginary line which separated their farm lands and the unused West", they suffered more than Americans who lived under similar circumstances. They missed the ordinary household comforts of Holland and many of the necessities of life, but from the experience of early years they learned to imitate their American pioneer neighbors. Slowly they adapted themselves to their strange environment and a wholly different standard of living; and they soon realized that the problem for them to solve was how to become self-sufficient when their supply of Dutch money gave out.

The Hollanders were not long in discovering that the articles which they had been accustomed to buy ready-made in Holland were manufactured by American frontiersmen from the products of the soil — as for instance bread and other food-stuffs, candles, and woolen and linen cloth for home-made clothing. In the absence of plows some used spades at first and waited patiently until they could obtain such agricultural implements as plows, harrows, and wagons from their Pella blacksmiths who worked night and day; and even then many lacked money enough to purchase the necessary horses or oxen and machinery. It was therefore a difficult problem to make progress without ready money.

Scholte observed that American pioneers got along without much money: "Only when they get money into their hands by selling their claims do they begin to buy, and in that event they are generally liberal in giving or paying. The American people in general understand how to make money, as is well known, but they also have the inclination to be generous in giving it away. That parsimony which is sometimes called stinginess is not a reigning evil with them. They do not turn over a dime four times, as the saying goes in Holland, before spending it, and therefore they get rid of money more quickly, oftentimes too quickly for some Hollanders."[80]

Great must have been the awe with which Iowa's first Dutch settlers regarded that picturesque, nomadic element of the American frontier population, the backwoodsman, who could generally be found upon the crest of the human wave which filled the empty places of the West. These adventurers preceded the rush of emigrants westward, staked out their claims, hunted and fished, cleared and worked some acres of soil for a year or two until the coming of others to their neighborhood. Then, to escape the pressure of advancing emigration, they sold their clearings at a profit, packed their simple belongings into heavy, canvas-covered wagons drawn by horses or oxen, and from pure love of freedom proceeded farther westward to resume their life in the woods or on the plains.[81]

Scholte, leader of the Dutch immigrants in every branch of activity, set up a lime-kiln and a brick-kiln at an early date, thus furnishing labor to masons. Bakers, tailors, shoemakers, painters, office clerks, business managers, and others — all were represented in the Pella population, but most of them found their trades and occupations superfluous among people of simple tastes. Hence they adapted themselves to the situation by learning to till the soil as a means of support. But "the hands of many who were city bred and skilled in everything but agriculture went wrong when it became a question of making a living on the naked prairie."

In the month of March, 1848, Scholte wrote as follows:

> The ordinary day's wages is fifty cents for the laborer, one dollar for the artisan. In general the Hollanders know very well how to receive American wages; some are not ready to acquire the American habit, that is, to work fast. A few, who do not care for work and imagine that people can get a living in America without exertion, find themselves badly deceived, since here too God's universally established rule applies: In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread.
>
> Four men returned from here to St. Louis, men of whose wrong principles people here are generally convinced. Two of them, after gadding about for some time and molesting the colony, ended by entering military service in Mexico. A few other persons, who seem to have thought that by means of a magic wand one could cause suitable houses to rise up out of the ground just as in fairy tales, complained of the hardships, as the people of The Netherlands may have noticed in their newspapers; but these have already expressed their grief for being so obstinate, and now entertain opposite opinions. Some now own land and stock, but their quantity of money has diminished so that they shall have to learn for the first time how to succeed in the American way, that is, to do much with little money: whether this art can be learned quickly and well, the future will tell.[82]

Unacquainted with the language, pioneer conditions, and ways of America, the first Dutch settlers of Iowa plodded along with the grim determination and patience characteristic of their nation, and gradually but painfully submitted to frontier Americanization.

XII

YEARS OF PRIVATION AND SUBSEQUENT RELIEF

During the first four years of their history in Iowa the Hollanders underwent many novel experiences, but nothing more disastrous than the winter of 1848-49. Unfamiliar with the extraordinary extremes of Iowa weather, they had deceived themselves into believing that the mild winter of 1847-48 was the rule and not the exception. They had continued to work outdoors with bare hands, and had paid little attention to their live-stock which ran loose in the woods and on the prairies.

In the spring of 1848 they had been introduced to a genuine Iowa windstorm with its attendant havoc and destruction: buildings in course of construction were razed to the ground. Thus began their acquaintance with storms of cyclonic severity. After passing a favorable summer and reaping a harvest sufficient to supply the colony's needs, without having taken precautions to provide food and shelter for their stock, they suddenly found themselves in the midst of a winter such as few Iowans have ever endured before or since. From November in 1848 to May in 1849 snow covered the ground at an average depth of three feet, and for weeks the temperature remained twenty degrees below zero.

Unprepared for this intense cold, Dutch farmers lost much live-stock and with the utmost difficulty husked a small quantity of their snow-covered crop of Indian corn. Fuel was scarce and difficult to obtain, while journeys to the mill were tedious and burdensome. Then in the spring of 1849, to aggravate the winter's disastrous losses, came the flooded rivers and miry sloughs from which half-famished animals were too weak to extricate themselves.[83]

Financially the Hollanders were on the whole practically destitute in 1849. Even those who had pursued farming with good results considered themselves poor in the midst of plenty, because they lacked a convenient market for their surplus products. So great was their discouragement that many thought seriously of giving up and seeking a more satisfactory location. Then relief came in two unexpected ways.

During the year 1849 about two hundred and fifty Hollanders came fresh from Europe to seek homes in Pella. Many of them were members of the association organized in Holland in 1846, and it is said that their hearts were in Pella after Scholte and the eight hundred found land for the colony. Very many of them were well-to-do, and some at once bought out American pioneers who had refused to sell their farms to the first Dutch settlers. The arrival of so large a body of newcomers meant the consumption of surplus products and this in turn brought money into circulation. Many adopted and stimulated business life in Pella, paid cash for what they bought, and also made loans to the needy.

If the coming of so many Hollanders helped to infuse new spirit into the Pella community, even more of a godsend was the mad scramble of Americans westward to reach the California gold fields, reports of the finding of which spread like wild-fire in the autumn of 1848. In the spring of 1849 commenced the rush of Easterners, which proved to be a veritable "El Dorado" for the Hollanders of Marion County. For a period of three months covered wagons rumbled ceaselessly through Pella, and though the gold fever soon subsided, for a number of years a steady stream of emigrants continued to flow through Pella, some in search of gold in California and Colorado, others, like the Mormons, to build homes in Oregon and Utah.

An eye-witness, a Hollander, thus described the "call of the West and the lust for gold" as evinced by the caravans which came from the East by the road through Pella:

> They came in all sorts of ways. Many wagons were drawn by six, eight or ten yoke of oxen. Some were drawn by cows; most people had two teams of horses or mules hitched to their decorated covered wagons, which were generally provided with stoves, and no one lacked fire-arms except the man who undertook the journey with a wheelbarrow whereon he bore his supplies. If we had not seen it with our own eyes, we should have doubted the truth of this. He had his place in the long train of wagons and made way for no one. We noticed later that the wheel-

barrow man arrived in California. The train of wagons was many times so long-drawn out as to fill the entire street from east to west. The number of well-behaved persons among the trekkers was very small; most of them were coarse and disorderly.

Those who remained on their Iowa farms and furnished the fortune-hunters with necessary food and other articles gained immense profit from the thirst for gold. One Dutch farmer who lived upon the Iowa route declared:

> We sold the trekkers to California all we had, and bought up more from our neighbors who lived farther from the road. We sold a bushel of corn for one dollar, a bushel of oats for one dollar, a bushel of wheat for one dollar, 100 pounds of hay for one dollar, everything for one dollar: that was easy to remember. A yoke of oxen brought from $50 to $55; a cow from $20 to $25. The trekkers, however, could stand it. Some had cooks and negro servants. A man from Davenport came with 350 head of cattle. He had two more herds of the same size, altogether 1,000 head, on the way.[84]

Thus it will be seen how marvelous was the influence of newcomers from Holland and of "forty-niners" from eastern States. The former came to begin life anew, and providing for their various needs revived the zeal and industry of the Dutch settlers who had struggled hard for over a year in town and country. Gold-seekers left much money among the Hollanders who did not hesitate to charge them what were extortionate prices for that day.

XIII

HOPES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

One of the principal drawbacks, if not the greatest, of early frontier life in central Iowa was the absence of convenient markets and suitable means of exporting farm products or importing articles for farm and household use. Neither railroads nor steamboats had yet reached Marion County.

The only agency of regular communication with the outer world at first was a United States post-route and post-office. When the Hollanders arrived upon their newly-purchased lands, the American settlers were accustomed to get mail at an office on the Des Moines River, but when the postmaster sold his farm to Scholte, his office came to an end. "Recognizing the need of a post-office," wrote Scholte, "with the other members of our Council I wrote at once to Washington requesting, with an assignment of reasons, that the old office and route be removed to Pella, at the same time recommending a competent person for the postmastership. We received a speedy and favorable reply and the necessary authorization." The Hollanders were thus enabled to obtain mail twice a week from the eastern States and from relatives in The Netherlands. They also received assurance that another post-route to the county seat would be relocated in such a way as to pass through Pella.[85]

But in the matter of establishing commercial and trade relations with such distant markets as Keokuk and St. Louis the Hollanders, like most other Iowans, experienced no little inconvenience. To be sure, their agricultural products found ready consumers in the increasing population of their neighborhood — a cause which continued to afford a market at every man's door for two or three years. But when they had surplus products, such as grain and pork, or if they had money and desired to raise their standard of living, they needed access to larger markets.

The city of Keokuk, one hundred and twenty miles away, situated at the foot of the Des Moines rapids of the Mississippi River, had become one of Iowa's most considerable ports and places of business. Steamboats for the transportation of passengers and merchandise plied regularly in large numbers between New Orleans, St. Louis, and Keokuk, where goods destined for points farther north had to be unloaded and conveyed over the rapids in light keel-boats.

In the early development of the vast resources of Iowa the Mississippi River came to be the most important agent. As the main avenue of trade, it placed the pioneers of Iowa in direct touch with the markets of the world. Grocery supplies, farm implements, mill machinery, dry goods, and hardware were shipped by sea from New York City to New

Orleans and northward, or by the Ohio River rou
to St. Louis, and thence to the Iowa country.

The most reliable means of communication b
tween Keokuk, the "Gate City of Iowa", and Pel
was the State Road — an excellent highway runni
along the ridge between the valleys of two rive
In 1848 this road was extended by law to include t
nearest and most direct route to Fort Des Moin
And until about the year 1865 this thoroughfare w
used for the transportation of Pella products
Keokuk and St. Louis and of manufactured goods
Pella. As a means by which merchandise could
received and produce exported the overland ro
was long and tedious; at the same time the Holla
ers found it better than the roads of Holland, exc
after heavy rains. Under ordinary circumstan
they paid seventy-five cents per hundred pounds
freight, and $1.12½ per hundred pounds when
road was at its worst.[86]

Shortly before the Dutch settled in Marion Co
ty Congress gave ear to the agitation in Iowa
favor of the improvement of the Des Moines Riv
Farm products of the Des Moines Valley had
creased to such an extent that some rapid exp
route became absolutely necessary. Accordingly
1846 the government took what at the time promi
to be one of the most important steps ever take
develop Iowa's resources: all alternate sections
land in a strip five miles wide on each side of
Des Moines River from its mouth to its source w
granted as an appropriation to provide for a sys

of slack-water navigation from Keokuk to Fort Des Moines.[67]

One year after Congress made such munificent provision for the internal development of Iowa, Scholte and his association of Hollanders indulged in the expectation that, since one-half of the distance to be made navigable had been surveyed and the sites for dams and locks had been selected, the expense of transportation to and from Pella in the future would be greatly lessened and the means of transportation would be facilitated.

Hardly had the town of Pella been platted when Scholte was requested by his American neighbors to lay out another town to be called Amsterdam. To this request he assented by selecting some land on the banks of the Des Moines River at a point where the stream was easily forded, where a dam and lock would later be necessary, and where a considerable harbor was expected to grow up on account of its position half-way between Ottumwa and Fort Des Moines. When the river should once be made navigable for ships and steamboats, this town promised to become the port of Pella and vicinity: "the recollection of what Holland's Amsterdam once was and of what the American Amsterdam (now called New York) is coming to be induced us to give this place in Iowa the same name, since it was both of Dutch origin and also intended for trade." And it was also hoped and suggested in 1848 that as soon as regular navigation became possible on Iowa's greatest river, a small body of water, called Lake Prairie,

east of Amsterdam would present unusual opportu
nities for the construction of factories run by water
power.

Two years later, in 1850, a store opened at Am
sterdam; many people bought lots and built houses
while two brick-kilns and a lime-kiln made the tow
temporarily of some importance. But in the mids
of promise came the memorable floods of the sprin
of 1851. A blight settled upon the hopes and pros
pects of the promoters of the young city when the
began to perceive that the improvement of the De
Moines River was an ideal never to be realized
High water at once revealed how stupendous and im
practicable was the task of rendering the Des Moine
River navigable. Furthermore the position of Am
sterdam upon the river's banks proved to be un
healthful: this fact retarded its growth. Indee
the great Dutch name is no longer on the map o
Iowa: only corn fields mark the spot where Amste
dam was expected to rise.[88]

Although steamboating on the Des Moines Rive
continued to appeal to Iowans of that day and se
eral boats succeeded in navigating the uncertai
channel at different times, as a means of transpor
ing produce to southern markets the river rou
failed dismally to satisfy the needs of the settler
The man who probably ranked next to Scholte as th
most public-spirited citizen among the early Dutc
settlers in Iowa was A. E. D. Bousquet. He m
with serious reverses in his efforts to make the D
Moines River a suitable outlet and waterway.

the flood year of 1851 he and other Pella merchants conceived the idea of shipping great quantities of corn down-stream in flat-boats to St. Louis. Their venture was only partially and accidentally successful and their plan was henceforth abandoned as impracticable.

Two years later Bousquet organized the Des Moines Steamboat Company, and again he met with disappointment. It was written of him that he "loved the new country in which he had cast his lot; for its prospects seemed golden to his eyes. He had considerable means . . . . and deemed it the better part to spend his money in developing the country rather than in buying great quantities of land and making himself rich by advancing prices . . . . 'If I should do this I should be as great a curse to my community as the eastern speculators!' " He also undertook to lay a plank-road from Keokuk to Pella, and is said to have completed from twenty to twenty-five miles.[89]

Railroad agitation in the years immediately following Iowa's admission into the Union reached the Hollanders of Marion County and led to no little speculation among them. They prided themselves on the advantageous situation of their colony when it became generally known that Pella was to be only fifteen or twenty miles southwest of the recently chosen site for the State capital. Certain State commissioners had been appointed with authority to select a place nearer to the geographical center of the State of Iowa than Iowa City then was.

Inhabitants of the Des Moines Valley had bee
especially interested in the removal of the seat o
government from Iowa City, and as a consequenc
of the general dissatisfaction and agitation the com
missioners caused five sections of land near th
southern boundary of Jasper County to be surveye
platted into lots, and sold at public auction durin
the latter part of October, 1847. They called th
new capital Monroe City. The Hollanders, wh
perceived the advantage of living so near, were grea
ly disappointed when the work of the commissioner
was later rendered null and void. When the agita
tion in favor of relocating the State Capital revive
the Hollanders themselves for many years petitione
the State legislature to locate the seat of gover
ment at Pella, Scholte offering to donate land to ai
in the construction of State buildings.

After Monroe City had been selected as the sit
for the new capital of Iowa, talk of a railway fro
Dubuque to Council Bluffs became more insisten
causing the Hollanders to hope and believe tha
Whitney's proposed railroad across the continen
would either pass through or at least very nea
Pella. Further hopes were raised when dissatis
faction was expressed concerning the situation o
the county seat at Knoxville. Indeed, many Ameri
can settlers urged this as a reason why Scholte shoul
lay out the town of Amsterdam, convinced that if th
matter ever came to a vote the people would u
doubtedly select this place as the seat of justice.[90]

Such were some of the hopes and aspirations o the Dutch inhabitants of Iowa during the first five years of their residence in the State. In every instance time revealed that anticipation was more pleasant than realization; but despite their disappointments the Hollanders plodded along and grew in strength and numbers.

XXXV

NORTHWESTERN CLASSICAL ACADEMY

OF THE first two buildings around which the town of Orange City grew up, one was the little district schoolhouse. Within five years there were seventeen rural schools scattered throughout the new settlement in Sioux County. But it is especially worthy of note that prominent among the ideals of the Hollanders was the encouragement of higher education. Henry Hospers and other shareholders in the town site had from the beginning agreed to lay aside one-fifth of the proceeds from the sale of lots as a college fund. To set the academy or university upon its feet there were in 1875 advocates of a plan to buy a section of land, let the soil to tenants for cultivation, and apply the income to the payment of instructors. But other counsellors prevailed, suggesting that the plan be dropped until the country became entirely rid of the grasshopper plague.

Dr. A. F. H. de Lespinasse, a graduate of Utrecht University, announced that he would open a medical school to young men of at least nineteen years of age, for a course of one and a half years devoted to preparatory knowledge, theory, and practice. This school was ambitiously proposed as a part of a university which should later include faculties of law and theology. Orange City was suggested as the proper home for such an institution on account of its Dutch population, its healthful situation, and the cheapness of living. Seven young men presented themselves as students in the month of February, 1875, and they were told that studies would begin as soon as the new county courthouse was completed. In September and October of that year they were worrying over examinations. The school, however, was short-lived.[262]

Summoned from the Hollanders in Michigan to serve the infant church congregations in Sioux County, Rev. Seine Bolks was familiar with the pioneer educational accomplishments of van Raalte in Michigan. Indeed, he had helped other ministers to bring order out of chaos by establishing the first schools in that forest wilderness. He had been a witness of the founding, by van Raalte, of Holland Academy in 1857 and of Hope College in 1866. With these thriving institutions in mind he perceived that Orange City, too, had room for an institution of higher learning. For many years he counselled and encouraged the members of his flock to make some provision: his hopes, however, were blasted by years of distress and adversity. "Grasshoppers", he naïvely remarked, "flew away with the idea." [263]

In the autumn of 1882, twelve years after the Hollanders came to Sioux County, and after the settlers had recovered from the suffering caused by the locusts, such lively interest was manifested that many Dutch Reformed ministers and a few business men met at Orange City and decided to found a church school, to be known as the Northwestern Classical Academy. They believed that in the absence of high schools at both Orange City and Alton such an institution was destined to supply a great need, if a site for the building were selected at some point midway between the two towns. But when Henry Hospers came forward to donate several acres of land upon the southern outskirts of Orange City, the county seat was selected as the permanent home for the proposed academy.[264]

Plans were at once formulated, money was subscribed by all who were well disposed, and a board of trustees was appointed. In the autumn of 1883 the principal of the Orange City public school, aided by the ministers of neighboring churches, began to prepare pupils for admission to the academy; and in January, 1884, Rev. John A. de Spelder took up his duties as principal. From modest beginnings — one teacher, twenty-five pupils, and scant accommodations in one room of a small, square frame building which the Hollanders called "The Pioneer School" — the academy grew until it occupied two rooms and required two teachers before the end of the first year. Then followed such an increasing enrollment that an abandoned skating-rink was purchased and fitted up for recitation and dormitory purposes in 1886, and later the first building was remodeled and converted into a residence for the principal.

In 1890 Rev. James F. Zwemer was installed as principal. Legacies and subscriptions were received, mortgages liquidated, and in 1894 an attractive three-story brick and stone structure was completed upon the campus at a cost of $25,000. Rev. Matthew Kolyn succeeded as principal in 1898, Mr. Philip Soulen in 1901, Rev. John F. Heemstra in 1906, and Mr. Thomas E. Welmers in 1910. During their administrations the academy has been nursed through many financial troubles; but in 1911 it stood upon a solid footing, free from debt. Since its foundation it has been served by nearly forty teachers — all Hollanders, members of the Dutch Reformed Church, and mostly graduates of Hope College.

The Northwestern Classical Academy was not intended as a mere high school. The chief aim of its founders was to lay a thorough foundation for a liberal education and to fit young men for entrance into college, especially Hope College, also an institution of the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1911 the academy furnished sound instruction in three courses: the classical, the modern classical, and the normal, which has recently been added to prepare young people for teaching, especially in rural schools. Greek and Latin, mathematics and science, history and English, vocal music, German, and Dutch are the subjects taught. The retention of Dutch as a part of the curriculum was explained as follows:

> The study of the Dutch language is a characteristic feature of this institution. And it is altogether fitting that it should be so, considering that many of our students come

> from Dutch homes, that the language will doubtless yet long be used in a section of the church which this institution is especially designed to serve, and that no one, who counts the Dutch his mother tongue, should, while seeking the advantages of a higher education, fail to have or seek an interest in the extensive and rich literature of this people. . . . The work is made optional; one semester is devoted to it, during which the principal points of grammar and syntax are carefully studied in connection with selections from standard authors.

The founders of the academy desired not merely to serve the immediate neighborhood of the school in Sioux County: they had in mind all localities to which the Dutch Reformed Church was spreading, and although most of the pupils have come from Orange City, Alton, Sioux Center, Maurice, Hospers, Rock Valley, and Boyden in Sioux County, not a few have come from Dutch Reformed congregations elsewhere, as in Kansas, South Dakota, Wisconsin, and other States.

The need of higher education on a Christian basis in harmony with the tenets of Calvinism was an important factor in the organization of this academy, and so the curriculum has always included Bible study. The reason has been stated as follows:

> The systematic study of the Bible finds a place in our curriculum. We believe it to be essential. We hold that God is the fountain of all knowledge and that the principles of revealed truth are basic to all true intellectual development and every branch of learning.
>
> During the first three years one hour a week throughout the year is devoted to this study. Taking for granted that

the student is tolerably familiar with Sacred History, we aim rather to point out the system of truth embodied in this history and trace the great principles which are to be found in God's Revelation from cover to cover. The Reformed Church is distinctly a truth confessing church.

The Heidelberg Catechism is used as a guide during the first two years, while Sell's Notes form a course for the third year.

In the absence of a more substantial foundation, such as a large endowment fund, the academy has been dependent upon the annual contributions of its friends and upon assistance from the Board of Education of the Reformed Church. Although it is a sectarian or denominational institution, founded, superintended, and maintained by members of the Dutch Reformed Church in America, those who seek admission need only possess "good moral character and studious inclinations", and many a poor boy or girl desirous of an education has been aided by the academy's Board of Benevolence and the Women's Executive Committee. All pupils are required to attend morning chapel services and recitations, and are expected to be in faithful attendance at some place of public worship. "Dancing, card-playing, and the use of tobacco on the campus is forbidden."

The board of trustees has always been composed largely of ministers of Dutch Reformed congregations in the neighborhood. These gentlemen have been no small factor in developing the school, and to no small degree have they been responsible for a record in which hundreds of Hollanders in Sioux

County and elsewhere have taken unconcealed pride. While the number of students has never been large, ranging from sixty to seventy-five, under the tutelage of four or five teachers, the academy has maintained itself in the face of many competing high schools.

Graduates of the academy in their loyalty and enthusiasm point to the past record of the school as a heritage which speaks volumes when mere words fail. Since the first class of three left "N. W. C. A." in 1885, the graduates have come to number about two hundred and sixty. Nearly three-fourths of these have pursued a college course in whole or in part. They have yielded seventeen physicians, ten lawyers, more than sixty teachers, and almost seventy clergymen and missionaries, most of whom received their training at Hope College and Western Theological Seminary at Holland, Michigan. And the names of these young men and women graduates indicate that all, with perhaps two or three exceptions, were Hollanders.[265]

XXXVI

EARLY RELIGIOUS LIFE AMONG THE HOLLANDERS IN IOWA

The dictum of William of Orange that "conscience is God's province" was entirely ignored in 1815 when Holland, as well as the rest of Europe, underwent almost complete reconstruction. Napoleon had preached the separation of church and state, and when he took possession of Holland he sent the Dutch Church about its business. Then Holland fell into the hands of William I who easily prevailed upon the declining Reformed Church to return to dependence upon the state exchequer at the price of a modified constitution. King William resolved to make all members of the established church conform to his ideas of the new church polity, but after some years of persecution he conferred upon conservative churchmen, who adhered to the orthodox doctrines of Calvinism, the privilege of maintaining their own congregations. These Seceders were so generally despised by the masses of the people of Holland and hundreds came to such a state of poverty that many were led by their pastors to forsake the fatherland and seek full liberty of conscience and freedom of worship in the solitudes of Michigan and Iowa.

The spirit exhibited by these people in twelve years of religious strife in Holland was transplanted to the prairie farms of Marion County, Iowa. Eight months after landing in America, Scholte, their pastor-leader, pictured the spiritual state of his fellow-countrymen at Pella as follows:[266]

> Ever since our coming regular Sunday services have been held, first partly in the open air on account of the lack of sufficiently roomy houses. Later when G. H. Overkamp finished his house in the city, he kindly allowed it to be used for Sunday meetings, which were generally very well attended. . . . Besides, the people gather during the week to practice reading and interpreting the Holy Scriptures. The building which is to serve as a school-room and also as a house of worship is fifty feet long and half as broad, and will be finished soon. . . .
>
> One may converse with many on religious subjects; and although our people were adherents of different sects in Holland, they are all Christians and thus far form but one congregation. The preaching of the Word is listened to attentively, and although a difference of opinion exists it is not productive of strife; sometimes differences are debated but without resulting in hostility or bitterness.

The immigrants at once organized a congregation with five elders and three deacons, became incorporated under the laws of Iowa as an independent religious society by the name of "The Christian Church at Pella", adopted a constitution on the 13th of November, 1848, and declared that their church was "founded upon the one, entire and indivisible Word of God as revealed in the Scripture of the Old and New Testaments." In conformity with the Bible they recognized the doctrines and confession of faith of the orthodox Protestant churches as the true standard of belief, and were prepared to join in Christian fellowship with every congregation which confessed the same faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. They also provided that every person who confessed his belief in the Trinity and whose conduct was consistent with his belief would be received into the church. Accordingly, candidates for membership in the church were required to be rich in Christian knowledge: many were denied admission because they lacked the necessary experience in Christian life.[207]

To the superficial observer it seemed as if religious life flourished at Pella in the early months, but in writing of all that God had done for them, Scholte concluded: "If we are asked what we are doing for God, shame and humiliation surge within us; for though we ought to shine as lights in the world, if we were to go to meet God, some of us would surely have to say that our lamps are going out." Scholte was compelled to admit that as to the spiritual condition of his people he had no special boast to make: "To be frank in what I write, I must confess that religion does not flourish, because there is no evidence that God's Kingdom and righteousness assume a foremost place in daily life, but rather the things of this world." Some were so affected with self-interest and self-seeking and so altered by the incidents of the long journey from Holland and the strenuous life of the new country that Scholte believed their Christian ideals were shattered: surely not many glorified God.[268] "The sudden change", he wrote, "from a condition of oppression and anxiety in Holland to one of space and freedom has caused a dizziness, and therefore the American love of material things is more attractive than Heaven."

Scholte longed heartily for a revival such as Americans were accustomed to, though his own people had never heard of evangelistic methods in Holland. Many times he had been pained by the irreligious conduct of the rising generation. Not many months later, in November of 1848, he rejoiced to report a tremendous reformation. Suddenly inspired by the Christ-like example of a poor and ignorant servant girl, scores of young people as well as adults were turned from the path of evil. This experience resulted in a spiritual awakening in the hearts of all members of the congregation, and Scholte asserted: "Now Pella has become doubly dear to me, because the Lord has shown that he wishes to dwell in our midst, and I must not conceal from my former fellow-countrymen the great things that God has done and is doing for us."[269]

During the early years Scholte preached on Sunday afternoons, while Rev. A. J. Betten or the elders took charge of morning services. Children of the congregation were not allowed to miss instruction in the Heidelberg catechism: they were faithfully taught by Isaac Overkamp for many years. A fresh infusion of religious life came when Pella welcomed the immigrants of 1849, of whom such men as

H. van Houten, John Hospers, A. E. D. Bousquet, Jacob Maasdam, and A. C. Kuyper became leaders in the church. The first regular Sunday-school at Pella, established and superintended by A. E. D. Bousquet, was held for many years in an old log house on Garden Square.[270]

In 1851 the Christian Church split into two congregations, which, however, reunited later. About the same time occurred the fatal breach between the pastor and a large part of his flock. When Scholte laid out the town of Pella in 1848 he made a map which showed that he intended Garden Square to be used as a public garden around which he expected citizens to purchase lots for homes, and that he reserved one-fourth of a block west of Garden Square for future church and school purposes. Scholte's intentions as thus indicated caused places of business to become scattered about town until Americans began to arrive in Pella. With true Yankee foresight they bought lots facing Garden Square and set up their shops. Scholte, "who was easily won over to the side of what was genuinely American, quickly noticed that what he had set aside to be a place for quiet and rest was becoming the center of business and industry, and therefore not a desirable neighborhood for God's house." When in the summer of 1854 he received a tempting offer for a part of Church Square, he did not hesitate to accept it.[271]

Scholte's church council or consistory resented his independence, declared that he had no right to act so arbitrarily without consulting them, and contended that by designating a parcel of land as Church Square he had granted and dedicated it to the Christian Church. Scholte replied that these lots had not become church property because he had never made a deed of gift, that in his judgment the lots facing Garden Square had become more suitable for stores than for a church, and accordingly he proposed to donate to the church another site in a quiet part of town. Upon his refusal to restore the land, Scholte was suspended and forbidden to preach until he surrendered. Indeed, the Christian Church at Pella brought the matter into court and even appealed to the State Supreme Court, but Scholte's view prevailed.[272]

Despite this friction, members of the congregation were not unanimous in their opposition to Scholte. Many followed him out of the church and for a time heard him preach in a barn and later in a painter's shop. Then Scholte built for himself and his people a meeting-house with low, sharp-pointed steeple, and above its entrance inscribed these words in large black letters: "MDCCCLV. In Deo Spes Nostra et Refugium." The Second Christian Church congregation flourished independently until about one year after the death of Scholte in 1868. He usually preached on Sunday afternoons, while capable men took charge in the morning. For some years there were no elders and deacons, but the men of the church transacted church business at weekly meetings. Men were specially appointed to teach the children the catechism. But the fact that

Scholte's influence at Pella was severely shaken by the fatal breach is apparent from the following:[273]

> Being the only one among the colonists who was familiar with the language, laws and customs, he had to enter into all the material concerns of the colony. Thus he was gentleman farmer, owner of saw-mills, brick-kilns and lime-kilns, land-agent, notary, printer, broker, banker, dealer in farm implements, attorney, editor, owner and publisher of a weekly, and so on. This combination of manifold duties led to his loss of spiritual power. No less hurtful was his active share in politics which brought him into clashes with a numerous class of men who make politics their business.

XXXVII

THE DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN IOWA

On his way to the American West in 1847 Scholte met many clergymen of the old American Dutch Reformed Church at New York. In answer to their urgent appeals to ally himself with their synod he said that he had no inclination to do so. It was his impatience with human regulations in church life, his spirit of independence which compelled him to turn a deaf ear to their proposals. In fact, he could not be said to belong to any sect. "Boldly and cheerfully", as he expressed it, "do I profess that God's Word is my only regulation in the affairs of God's church on earth."

Between him and his fellow-Separatists in Holland there had once arisen a difference of opinion as to the application of the church regulations prescribed by the Synod of Dordrecht, the administration of sacraments to the unconverted, the baptism of children, the return of Christ, and other subjects, which led to so much friction that at a general synod of the Separatist congregations in 1840 Scholte was forbidden to preach the gospel. It is not surprising, therefore, that he did not hurry to the fold of the Dutch Reformed Church or any other church in America, though van Raalte and his Michigan people were welcomed as early as 1850.[274]

The First Christian Church at Pella emerged from the quarrel with Scholte and for a short time its members worshipped God without a pastor, until they elected one of their number, Rev. A. J. Betten, to fill the vacancy in 1855. The congregation had always observed the sacrament of the Lord's Supper every Sunday. This was an innovation which certain brethren felt was not in keeping with the doctrines promulgated by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, and accordingly, as their number grew with increasing accessions of Hollanders from Europe, they formed a separate independent congregation in 1856 and called it the Dutch Reformed Church.

They voted unanimously to effect a closer relation with the Michigan churches, and appointed two men to attend a special convention at Chicago. In September, 1856, they secured a visit from Rev. van Raalte. At an open meeting of the members of the Christian Church and of the Dutch Reformed Church practically all of the members voted to be received into the Dutch Reformed Church in America. Thus nearly two entire congregations of Hollanders became united under the name: "Protestant Reformed Dutch Church at Pella". Those who refused to be parties to this arrangement continued as the First Christian Church.[275]

The Dutch Reformed congregation tendered calls to Rev. A. C. van Raalte, Rev. A. Brummelkamp (then a professor in the theological school at Kampen, Holland), and Rev. Donner of Leyden, Holland, but all declined. Finally, in 1858 they induced Rev.

P. J. Oggel of Grand Haven, Michigan, to come for a few weeks, and later, in 1859, Rev. van Raalte. The first Baptist church organized by Americans at Pella in 1854 had taken over the Sunday-school founded by Bousquet. Since this school was the only one at Pella, and was attended by both Hollanders and Americans, Rev. van Raalte successfully urged the Dutch Reformed people to establish a second Sunday-school, which Dutch children attended at eight o'clock in the morning! Then in 1860 Rev. P. J. Oggel became the first permanent pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church.[276]

At Pella, just as in Michigan, there arose what has been termed "the terrible language question", once so productive of disputes in congregations of the eastern American States. For many of the first settlers, who had found no time or opportunity to acquaint themselves with English, preaching in the Dutch language remained an absolute necessity; and so it has always been in the case of Dutch immigrants who have come to Iowa. The children who had grown up at Pella since 1847 had received instruction in English, but had acquired only a slight speaking knowledge of Dutch: they were not prepared to read Dutch books or to follow Dutch sermons with profit. Accordingly, there was little opposition in 1862 to the formation at Pella of a second Dutch Reformed congregation which has always had preaching in the English language.[277]

The first Dutch Reformed Church in Iowa existed in the city of Burlington from 1853 until 1860. Davenport also had a congregation from 1859 to 1876, and there was one at Keokuk from 1863 to 1865. Hollanders were numerous enough in the district north of Pella to build a house of worship near the Skunk River: Bethel Church, which has been maintained since 1866. A third Dutch Reformed church was built at Pella in 1868 and the congregation secured Rev. van der Veen from Holland as its pastor. Scholte's congregation of the Christian Church dissolved in 1869 and became the foundation for the fourth Dutch Reformed Church, the members of which sold their parsonage and church property at auction in September, 1909, and in January, 1910. In the month of November, 1869, a series of meetings was held at Pella and the outcome was the organization of a Dutch Presbyterian Church, which held together until 1882. In 1872 a society of Derbyites or "Brethren" was formed and has existed with a small membership including a few Dutch families.[278]

As fast as the Hollanders bought up farms at long distances from Pella, they organized themselves into church congregations. Thus numbers warranted the founding of churches at Otley in 1871, at Bethany near Sully in 1886, at Leighton, Mahaska County, in 1889, at Galesburg near Reasnor, Jasper County, and at Muscatine in 1891, and at Bethlehem near Taintor, Mahaska County, in 1894. Since 1902 congregations have been formed also at Killduff in Jasper County, at Sully in Marion County, and at Eddyville in Wapello County. In 1910 these churches of the Pella Classis served about eight hundred families, and claimed an enrollment of one thousand three hundred and ninety Sunday-school pupils and eight hundred and twenty-seven catechumens. Six of the thirteen pastorates were vacant — a fact from which one might infer that the Classis was not flourishing, were it not for the additional fact that the churches contributed liberally to benevolent and congregational enterprises.[279]

The Dutch Reformed Church spread with greater rapidity among the Hollanders of northwestern Iowa than it did in the vicinity of Pella. The early settlers first met in the various homes, then in 1871 they organized a congregation. For a time they were served by preachers who came from Pella every two weeks, but finally they unanimously called and obtained as their pastor Rev. Seine Bolks who arrived from Zeeland, Michigan, in the spring of 1872. During the next eight years he filled the rôle of minister, doctor, and counsellor, while his people struggled against locust depredations. This "old patriarch" or "vader", as he was styled by the settlers, had wrestled with the hardships of backwoods life in Michigan; for in 1848 he and a large body of immigrants had left Holland and founded Overisel, Michigan. He was, therefore, equal to the demands of the first years in Sioux County, and hundreds of Hollanders would have forsaken their farms had not his simple faith buoyed them up.[280]

For many years Rev. Bolks was the only man who ministered to the widely-scattered Hollanders. At Orange City he preached in the schoolhouse until a separate church building was finished in 1873. Late in November of this year a famous visitor from Holland, in a book of travels in America, described the events of a Sunday which he spent at Orange City. Translated from the Dutch his account reads as follows:

> 'Twas Sunday, and a Sunday which I shall not soon forget. What a quiet, almost holy Sabbath rest brooded over that scene! . . . Such space, and such stillness, seriousness, and peace! How well does the fresh, youthful, simple life of the little colony harmonize with that quiet, pure, virgin nature! About us the little settlers' town with its widely-scattered wooden houses, and beyond, here and there, at a great distance, a little blue cloud of smoke rising from the green field of this or that farm hidden in the folds of the undulating prairie.
>
> But see, gradually there comes a stir! Miles away we see them approaching from all directions, churchgoers of this morning: here a light buggy or an open wagon, yonder a slow-moving ox cart, or a horseman, also a single amazon, a stout, young farmer's daughter who comes galloping over the fields, a delightful sight to see. But whether they come fast or slow, they arrive in time: those who must travel long distances are seldom late.
>
> We too betook ourselves to the large "public square", as the place is proudly called, on which the settlers already imagine they see noble buildings but which is now nothing more than a sketch, an open plot of land surrounded by a few small dwellings and four rows of trees which can stand in *our* shadows. But for the moment we see a big stir there. Horses and oxen, unhitched, are tied to posts or allowed to graze, and little groups of men and women form here and there in front of blacksmith shop and church.

Of that church entertain no lofty expectation! It is indeed the most unsightly structure in which I have ever preached. Imagine a small rectangular building of boards, perhaps ten metres long and five metres wide, with a stove in the center and benches around it. That is the school.—Perpendicular to this school-room at one end, like the upper part of the capital letter T, there is a shed with a few rough, unplaned boards on supports to serve as pews, and against the back wall opposite the entrance stand a chair and a table for the minister. This shed and the school-room turned into one form the church. During the week on school-days, the partition between the two rooms is closed, but on Sunday for church services boards are removed from the upper part and the church is then ready to receive an audience.

To be sure this is something quite different from a stately gothic cathedral or the beautiful marble church edifices of New York, but it appeals no less to the emotions; yes, I even dare assert, it is no less picturesque to the eye. It reminds me of Schwartz's picture of the barn where the Pilgrim Fathers in America first worshipped God. Would that my friend Bosboom, who understands so well the charm of light and brown and knows how to put feeling and even poetry into a stable or a view, would that he were here for a short quarter of an hour to catch the ray of light which the pale winter's sun causes to play through the little open side-window against the dark wainscot and upon so many quiet and pious upturned faces; or would that Rochussen could reproduce that audience with a few of his ingenious, characteristic figures: men with quiet power and strength written in their bearing and upon their faces, and women, some of whom were nursing children, with hands clasped in prayer which was none the less real although they embraced what to them was most precious on earth. I have seldom if ever been more inspired by an audience than by the one in the midst of which I was permitted to stand that morning, and if I returned any of the inspiration which those hearers unconsciously gave to me, that Sunday morning on the prairies was not entirely lost for eternity.

Rev. Bolks visited the Dutch settlers in various parts of the colony, holding fortnightly mid-week services in district schoolhouses. His activity and sincerity of purpose were long remembered. "No matter how cold or stormy it might be," one writer asserts, "or how rough or muddy the roads, or how deep the water in the sloughs, he was always at his post; his prompt presence and his earnest efforts for the spiritual welfare of the people could always be depended on. His words of wise council, of kind admonition, and of encouragement and good cheer in the days of severe struggles and affliction are ever remembered with gratitude and sincere regard."

When congregations arose in 1877 at West Branch (now Sioux Center) and East Orange (now Alton), Rev. Bolks served them whenever he could. An old settler afterwards wrote, with a touch of exaggeration:

> And how he preached — without notes and without time — hammering the Bible until the leaves flew out over the audience — thundering away until the sun went down. But all gave rapt attention and no one ever attempted to leave. To my youthful mind it was mostly a jargon of words in which hell and sin and eternal fire stood out prominent. He was not a leader like van Raalte nor a

scholar like Scholte of the parent colony but the old Dominie did what he could and will be remembered kindly by a generation of men now fast disappearing.[281]

After 1877 as the Hollanders increased in numbers and spread out over the adjoining townships, churches sprang up at North Orange (now Newkirk) in 1883, at Maurice in 1884, at Middelburg and Hull in 1885, at Hospers in 1886, at Boyden in 1888, at Le Mars, Plymouth County, in 1889, at Rock Valley in 1891, at Sheldon, O'Brien County, in 1895, at Carmel in 1896, at Archer, O'Brien County, in 1900, and at Doon, Lyon County, since 1902.

The language question made its appearance at Orange City in 1885. Owing to the need of services in the English language for the benefit of the younger generation, a second congregation was organized and styled the American Reformed Church. A similar need also existed at Sioux Center and when a second congregation of the Reformed Church had been organized in 1899 and services had been commenced, a large number of the members appealed in vain to the district judge for an injunction to prohibit preaching in the Dutch language because they had subscribed money for the new church building according to the terms of a contract which, they claimed, stipulated English as the language to be spoken in the pulpit. At Maurice an American Reformed Church was planted after 1902, and another was founded at Sioux Center in 1911.

These churches, mostly in the Iowa Classis in northwestern Iowa, were in 1910 the houses of worship of about 1400 Dutch families, and claimed in round numbers 3000 communion members, 4500 baptized non-communicants, 2000 catechumens, and 3000 enrolled in Sunday-schools, while their members contributed generously to various denominational and congregational purposes.[282]

Ministers of Dutch Reformed congregations in the neighborhood of Pella and in northwestern Iowa have received their training almost exclusively at the Western Theological Seminary at Holland, Michigan. Some of the older ministers, however, took their courses at New Brunswick Seminary in New Jersey. Most of the pastors of the Reformed Church in the Middle West have obtained their preparatory education in the Northwestern Classical Academy at Orange City, Iowa, or in Holland Academy at Holland, Michigan.

These academies have always been the chief feeders of Hope College at Holland, Michigan; and Hope College in turn has been the chief feeder of the Western Theological Seminary. New Brunswick Seminary has depended upon Rutgers College and Union College for its students, and has prepared its graduates chiefly for service in eastern congregations of the Reformed Church where English has been preached for about one hundred and fifty years. During its existence for nearly forty years the Western Theological Seminary has had as its motto: "Train Western men, for Western work, on Western soil", and ministers are therefore trained to preach in the Dutch language.[283]

Most of the Hollanders of Iowa in 1910 formed part of a church polity which consisted of 689 congregations, 750 ministers, 65,675 families, and 117,288 members. Over four hundred of these congregations were situated in the States of New York and New Jersey. Michigan ranked next with 62 and Iowa fourth with 50 churches.[284]

XXXVIII

THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH IN IOWA

In the month of August, 1866, forty-two members of the First Dutch Reformed congregation of Pella withdrew from the fold, declaring that they would return to the doctrine, discipline, and liturgy ordained by the Reformed Church of their fathers in The Netherlands. They joined what was then called the True Reformed Dutch Church. This denomination had been organized by five New Jersey ministers who found the Dutch Reformed Church too mildly Calvinistic in its theology. Several congregations of Christian immigrants in Michigan seceded from the Dutch Reformed Church in the autumn of 1856 and later called themselves the Christian Reformed Church.[285]

These seceders put forth as their bill of grievances against the Dutch Reformed Church the following counts: first, the forms of unity such as the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism were merely professed, not practiced; secondly, heretic ministers were not prevented from disseminating their opinions; thirdly, bad practices were allowed, such as choir singing, bringing corpses into the church, and funeral sermons; fourthly, hundreds of

English hymns were used in addition to the Psalms; fifthly, the publication of Sunday-school literature was allowed jointly with other denominations, and members of other denominations were admitted to the Lord's Supper.[286]

After the organization of the first congregation in 1866, a second one was formed at Pella in 1869, and others have been planted at various places within a radius of about twenty miles from Pella: in 1893 at Leighton and in 1894 at Taintor, small towns of Mahaska County, at Sully in 1896, at Otley in 1898, at Reasnor in Jasper County in 1898, at Harvey in 1902, at Oskaloosa in 1903, and at Prairie City in Jasper County in 1904. The Church's growth in that region indicates how the Hollanders are spreading in three counties around Pella. In 1911 about four hundred and fifty families consisting of 2000 Hollanders worshipped in these churches.[287]

The Hollanders of northwestern Iowa brought their Christian Reformed Church connections at Pella with them, and organized a congregation at Orange City in 1874. Subsequently they established flourishing churches at Sioux Center and Rock Valley in 1891, at Le Mars, Plymouth County, in 1892, at Hull in 1893, at Hospers in 1894, at Middelburg in 1901, at Doon, Lyon County, in 1902, at Lebanon in 1903, at Carnes in 1904, at Sheldon, O'Brien County, in 1906, and at Ireton in 1908. Over eight hundred families or approximately 3000 Hollanders attended these churches in 1911. There were also many Hollanders in the Classis of East Friesland at the towns of Ackley in Hardin County and Wellsburg in Grundy County, but most of the members of the Christian Reformed denomination in this part of Iowa were Germans.[288]

The Christian Reformed denomination in Iowa had but few Sunday-schools, and few young people's societies or other associations in 1907, but has always emphasized instruction in the Heidelberg Catechism, long deemed very important in the training of children. Many of the ministers received their training in The Netherlands before they emigrated to America, but the majority were graduates of John Calvin Junior College with its four-year preparatory course and three-year college course, and of the theological school at Grand Rapids, Michigan, the American stronghold of the church.[289]

The Christian Reformed Church in America has increased its membership with remarkable rapidity since 1880 — a year famous in its history on account of the anti-Masonic movement in Michigan. A fierce dispute arose in certain congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church over the question whether membership in secret societies was consistent with membership in the church. The Dutch Reformed Church adhered to its custom never to legislate on abstract questions and referred the matter entirely to the decision of each church consistory concerned. Secessions from the older church commenced with renewed vigor and continued for two years.

Since then the younger church has opposed secret societies because: first, they boast too much of their charity, whereas it is simply a matter of business, like insurance; secondly, they exert a bad influence on politics and political institutions, and are "an empire within an empire"; thirdly, they have a nomenclature which is immodest, ludicrous, inconsistent with republican usage, and even blasphemous, and the titles of their officers "savor too much of child's play and are unworthy of serious men"; fourthly, they have ceremonies too frivolous for earnest Christians and too dangerous to life; fifthly, they use or rather abuse the Bible in their ritual; sixthly, they virtually exclude Christ as the Savior, yet they often declare deceased members saved; and seventhly, they require unwarranted and sinful oaths.

The spread of the Christian Reformed Church since 1880 has been phenomenal compared with that of the Dutch Reformed Church. From 144 congregations in 1900 the number had leaped to 189 in 1911, ministering to about 15,000 families or 80,000 souls in nineteen States of the Union and in the Dominion of Canada. In fifteen of these churches the English language was used exclusively; in ten churches of the Classis of East Friesland in Iowa the German language prevailed; and Dutch was spoken in all the others.

There was a time when the stream of immigrant Hollanders turned into Dutch Reformed channels, but in recent years nearly all Christian Netherlanders have united with the Christian Reformed Church, chiefly because of an impression gained in Holland that the older church in such matters as retaining within its fold members of secret oath-bound societies, laxity in preaching the catechism, and neglect of catechetical instruction, was not really Reformed in doctrine or practice, and was too much given to Americanization. Hence the younger church has aimed to maintain Calvinistic principles and practices in their purity and to keep the churches distinctively Dutch in preaching and teaching. Adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church have exclaimed against the attitude of people in The Netherlands but have not been able to remove the cloud.[290]

XXXIX

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE HOLLANDERS IN 1910

From the foregoing glimpse of the congregations of Hollanders in Iowa it will be seen that in most towns Dutch Reformed and Christian Reformed churches exist side by side. Except among the prejudiced and less enlightened members of the two denominations there is no open hostility or show of enmity. The ministers of the two sects live on good terms. As a rule Hollanders are tolerant in the matters of belief; and yet it must be admitted that whenever opportunity offers they spend considerable time in pointing out each other's theological weaknesses. Indeed it sometimes seems that despite their faithful attendance at church they are more sectarian than religious.

Members of the older church tend to abhor all that is "separatist"; while members of the younger church seek too diligently for things to criticise and condemn: they are too ready to draw up indictments against the Dutch Reformed Church which has urged that its standards of doctrine and polity and those of the Christian Reformed Church are for all practical purposes identical, and that, therefore, the two denominations should fight shoulder to shoulder for the interests of God's Kingdom. The Christian Reformed Church decries the idea and prophesies that union would be a calamity rather than a blessing.

Neither sect appears willing to budge: each still prefers to emphasize and judge the other's faults. And so the chasm is gradually widening.[391] Nevertheless, the fact that a spirit of Christian brotherhood exists was never better shown than when a hurricane in 1902 destroyed the large Dutch Reformed church at Sioux Center: the Christian Reformed congregation at once allowed the unfortunate people the use of their building for services.

In their religious life the Hollanders of Iowa have always donated liberally to benevolent causes. Pella sent $1500 to the fire sufferers of Chicago in 1871; and besides a carload of necessities, such as clothing and flour, they contributed $2500 to the people of Holland, Michigan, when their city was laid in ashes. They gave munificently of their means when famine-stricken British India called for food: much money and numerous carloads of corn found their way to the hungry thousands of that land. Their charity was equally exemplified when the people of Galveston, Texas, were rendered homeless by flood. With open purses they welcomed a man who preached in their churches on behalf of an orphan asylum in Holland; thousands of dollars were raised for the Boers; and a similar spirit was shown by the ladies of various church organizations when they collected clothing for Boer war prisoners on the Bermuda Islands. (See Appendix B.)

For local church objects the Hollanders are equally ready to give. For instance, at Sioux Center they have constructed three handsome and substantial brick church buildings, for which they subscribed and pledged as much as $50,000. Churches of the Iowa Classis in northwestern Iowa in 1910 donated over $10,000 to foreign missions and about $6000 to domestic missions, while the Pella Classis contributed over $4000 and nearly $3000 to the same causes.[292]

The Dutch are regular in attendance at church, going at least once on Sunday, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and frequently attending both services. Evening services are seldom held in Dutch churches. Women usually occupy certain pews, mothers taking their smallest children with them. The men folks also sit together, fathers with their older children. Such old-fashioned practices as these, however, are beginning to disappear, and now one does not infrequently find all the members of a family seated in the same pew.

Pew rents were once collected at Pella. In one church in 1860 pews were auctioned off for $4200 — a sum which nine years later had fallen to $1700. This arrangement was necessary in the days of small buildings and large crowds: people wanted to be assured of seats when they went to worship.[293] But pew-letting was bad on principle: it was not only undemocratic but savored of sacrilege, as it was an unchristian way of raising money for the Lord's work. Worst of all it destroyed the spirit of voluntary giving, a spirit which is now well displayed by fathers who before Sunday church services distribute one cent pieces or nickels or dimes, according to their means, to members of their families. Thus children are taught early in life to give to the church.

Religion pervades the atmosphere of Dutch communities. Church-going is practically the only unique feature in the life of people who toil hard as day-laborers, mechanics, men of business, and farmers. The motto which rules them is surely: "Laborate et orate" ("Labor and pray"). On Sundays, morning and afternoon, highways in country and town are thronged with buggies and carriages bearing the people — singly, in couples, or in families — to church. With the exception of Saturdays when farmers come to town for marketing, town streets are never so lively as on a beautiful Sunday afternoon.

Of course not all the Hollanders of Iowa are church-goers, but those who do not have church connections of some sort are comparatively few. The great majority of the Hollanders attend church. They do not wish to sacrifice the spiritual welfare of themselves and their children — a fact attested by their numerous commodious church edifices in both Marion and Sioux counties. In practically all Dutch Reformed churches and in a few Christian Reformed churches Sunday-schools are held immediately after preaching services from three to four o'clock. Just as the church service consists of scripture lessons, long prayers, the dolorous singing of Psalms, and orthodox sermons, all in the Dutch language, so the Sunday-schools are usually conducted by means of lessons printed in the Dutch language. Instead of Psalms, however, American hymn-books are coming to be used in the Sunday-schools. Once a week as a rule the pastors of the churches catechise the children. Annual Sunday school picnics and distributions of presents at Christmas time are red-letter days for the children.

In religious matters Hollanders differ from Americans in certain noteworthy respects. They firmly believe in infant baptism; they cling to the catechism; they seldom if ever have exhibitions or concerts to raise money, for they are not fussy when it comes to giving; and they have no choirs. Furthermore, they do not lock church doors for the hot season: fifty-two Sundays in the year, besides Thanksgiving and Christmas days, pastor and congregation meet together. They take no demoralizing vacations. In recent years they have been holding "mission feasts", and they have contributed large sums of money annually and not a few men and women to missions. Many now celebrate the Fourth of July in a Christian way. But they do not countenance dancing or card playing, and are seldom visited by theatrical companies.

English is the language preached in only four out of fifty congregations of the Dutch Reformed Church in Iowa, while the Dutch language has been preserved in all the other congregations and especially in the Christian Reformed Church. (See

Appendix C.) Nothing more typical can be suggested to show the Hollander's extreme dislike of innovation. It is said that English preaching was introduced into New York City in 1763 not without "a lawsuit, besides sad losses of temper, money, and membership". Of this remarkable display of Dutch tenaciousness one historian has written:

> It was difficult then, however, as it is for some of the old Dutchmen of to-day in Michigan and Iowa, to understand how the omnipotent God can be trusted to reveal the truth in any language but the Dutch, or in any theology but that of Dordrecht and the seventeenth century. How, also, sound catechetics can be taught in English is still, to some fresh from the turf of Patria, a mystery passing their understanding.

The clannishness of Hollanders is perhaps due chiefly to their activity in church affairs. One can not deny that they look askance at the habits, manners, and usages of Americans in religious life. Pastors of both Dutch denominations assume a natural leadership in the community and their congregations continue to represent old-fashioned orthodoxy. What was once asserted with regard to the Dutch Reformed Church applies with equal force to the Christian Reformed Church, namely, that in loyalty to the interests of their church, in charity and truth, in practical piety and Christian beneficence, the people of Dutch congregations in the West in no respect fall behind American churchmen. Surely they "are not perfect; they have not reached the ideal of Christendom; but they are a serious, industrious, and pious people who do not need to retire on account of a comparison with other congregations." [294]

XL

COMMUNITY LIFE AMONG THE HOLLANDERS IN IOWA

THE Dutch nation has always been an easy subject for "the panegyrical and eulogistic historian". The indomitable traits of the Dutch national character, revealed by the annals of Holland's Golden Age which are among the most interesting in the world's history, have endured until this day, though Holland's splendor and glory as a first-rate power of Europe have long since declined. Despite national decay every intelligent Hollander, whether he is thrown among strangers or remains at home, retains a strong feeling of national pride. He honors the memory of his ancestors for their deeds of heroism and bravery, even when he comes to live among the inhabitants of successful Dutch communities in Iowa.

Impelled by a love of religious liberty and a hope of finding for themselves and their children larger opportunities to live, hundreds of Hollanders removed to America in 1846 and 1847, some to dwell in the unpeopled forests of western Michigan and others to occupy the frontier farms of central Iowa. Though religion has ceased to be a cause of emigration, much the same type — the Hollander of old-fashioned ways and sturdy puritanical mien — continues to arrive in Iowa. Those who were once heralded as "an interesting and valuable class of foreigners" have undergone the process of Americanization for several decades. More recent immigrants — although some to be sure have left Holland for their country's good — are in general no less valuable as an acquisition to America's conglomerate of nationalities.

Although the Hollanders have occupied territory in Marion County and vicinity for nearly sixty-five years, they have not yet become amalgamated with the American people of Anglo-Saxon origin. They still form a distinctively Dutch community, as do their kinsmen and fellow-countrymen of northwestern Iowa. For perpetuating this peculiar aloofness perhaps no other single agency has been so responsible as the church. In the local social life of the Dutch the churches are undoubtedly the strongest factor: they have kept the Hollanders isolated from close and intimate relations with their English-speaking and German neighbors.

Naturally Dutch immigrants also show an inclination to look upon the people of other nationalities with a somewhat supercilious air — a feeling which has accordingly retarded intermarriage. For years sons of well-to-do Hollanders have married daughters of other well-to-do Hollanders, oftentimes brothers of one family choosing sisters of another, and usually all belong to the same church denominaation, a stereotyped rule which loses some of its force with each succeeding generation.

Whenever from choice or from force of circumstances the Dutch immigrant makes his home among Americans he shows that he possesses the imitative faculty to a high degree: he is quick to adopt the habits and methods of his American neighbors, and experiences no particular difficulty in casting off much of his old Dutch sturdiness. But when he prefers to throw in his lot with a community of his fellow-countrymen, he conforms to a well-preserved social order based on Dutch stability and stolidity. He finds that his Dutch neighbors have lived and worked within the confines of their settlement, whether in town or in the country; that nearly all are engaged and interested in the same occupations; and that their whole life is centred about their churches.

And so with the retention of old Dutch national traits intensified by constant accessions of fresh blood from The Netherlands, despite their patriotism and partial adoption of the English language, American inventions, and a few American ways, the Hollanders of Iowa form a lump which can not truthfully be said to have entered the American "melting pot". They are still for the most part an unassimilated, clannish, though not entirely isolated, mass of foreigners who have necessarily acquired an American veneer from the environment created by the political and social ideas of America.

TOWN LIFE

Town life among the Hollanders of Iowa does not appear to be unlike that of the ordinary American community, and yet upon close observation many points of difference suggest themselves. Pella, despite its age and its large American element, is still the typical Dutch town of Iowa. Like other towns where Hollanders live in numbers, Pella covers an immense area of country, a very natural result when people purchase large plots of land for their houses, barns, and gardens. Old-fashioned Hollanders are not easily satisfied with a mere city lot: they want room for a potato patch and for various kinds of vegetables of which they may eat in season and store a surplus for the winter, and they take a keen delight in exercising their knowledge of gardening.[295] The younger generation, however, tends to pull away from the soil, and to apply spare moments to the care of lawns and flower beds. But generally speaking, Hollanders show more interest in ordinary gardening than their American neighbors; and except when their houses occupy conspicuous places, they manifest less consideration for lawns and lawn-mowers. Day-laborers pay least attention to these matters: few can spare the time and many take no pride in premises which they do not own.

Arboriculture, and more especially landscape gardening by means of grades and terraces, seem to be classed by most Dutch towns-people among the frills and luxuries of life and are, therefore, not deemed worthy of much serious attention. Orchards are comparatively few in town or country, and where they do exist they are in most cases allowed to grow up wild. Indeed, Hollanders in Iowa do not seem to appreciate fully the value and beauty of fruit trees: Sioux County ranks ninety-sixth in the State of Iowa, only three counties having a smaller acreage in orchards! Ornamental trees and shrubbery are only occasionally seen. Retired farmers, a numerous class in most Dutch towns, have more time for such pursuits as flower culture, lawn-mowing, and gardening; and they usually have yards that are models of cleanliness and rustic simplicity. Dutch tulip and hyacinth bulbs have been imported every year into at least one town.

Good substantial hardwood trees seem never to have appealed strongly to the Hollanders of Iowa. They cut down nearly all of the fine hardwood timber of Marion County for their pioneer dwellings. There as in Sioux County Dutch farmers and townspeople have had an eye for quick results rather than for permanent beauty, for in their impatience to enjoy shade in summer and protection from cold blasts in winter they planted cheap softwood trees. Boxelders, cottonwoods, and soft maples are seldom objects of comeliness in yards or upon city streets, least of all when they begin to display dead branches and decayed wood: they give towns an appearance of premature age and suggest a lack of local civic pride. Elms, oaks, hard maples, and hickories may be better adapted to a gravel soil and running water, but they flourish wherever they have been planted in Sioux County towns, though the enjoyment of shade was postponed for several years.

Picket and woven wire fences still exist to a large extent in the towns, but hedges not at all. For the sake of simplicity and economy the Hollander upon the farm prefers barbed wire, and usually builds no fence along the country road, an arrangement which enables him to cultivate a considerable strip of the public highway. The Hollander in town, believing in privacy as well as orderliness, surrounds his premises with a fence of some sort, but studiously avoids cutting off his view of the street: he wants to be able to see passersby.

Houses in Pella and other Dutch towns are in general plain frame buildings of various shapes and sizes, standing at irregular distances from the street. Owing to lack of uniformity in this respect town streets present an appearance by no means attractive. At Pella one-story frame and brick cottages, many with green and yellow shutters modelled after the cottages of Holland, stand here and there as reminders of the early years. As in American towns, there are, of course, many houses of modern architecture, reflecting various degrees of personal taste, but generally exteriors as well as interiors affect severe simplicity with all the proverbial evidences of Dutch cleanliness. This plainness tends to give way as wealth increases and the desire for display enters the minds of the younger people. The piano has found its way into the parlors of Dutch communities, rather as an object of decoration than as an indication of culture, refinement, or musical talent, for the music-teacher has received but scant encouragement. Hollanders show more fondness for vocal than for instrumental music.

As in most other respects, in dress the Hollanders, men and women and children, maintain the same strict simplicity. Certainly gaudiness and the latest styles from the world's fashion centers are not paraded where the Dutch live, for society makes few demands upon them. Social intercourse can not be said to reign or even to exist in private life except among people who happen to be more or less associated in business, although considerable fellowship is bound up with church life. The genuine, hard-working Hollander is more often a man of domestic tastes, closely attached to his home with its simple comforts and a housewife's excellent cooking: such a place affords him the best retreat.

Dutch dishes of well-cooked, wholesome foods of the heavier sort still predominate among the Hollanders of Iowa; but of course some American dishes have been adopted. Edam cheese, smoked beef, rye bread, rusks, currant bread, Sint Nicolaas cookies, and other national delicacies have survived the journey across the Atlantic and are just as popular among the Dutch in America as in Holland. Needless to say the Dutch eat heartily.

A visitor to the home of a Hollander of average means is greeted with frank hospitality and unreserved courtesy. If he comes in the morning at about ten o'clock, he will be treated to coffee and something to eat with it. In the same way will he be welcomed at mid-afternoon, a custom which prevails especially upon the farms where the men have their refreshments regularly mornings and afternoons. Good manners are generally the mark of the foreign-born Hollander who has had some experience of social ranks, but they are not infrequently missing in Dutch children reared in the American atmosphere of hurry and money-making.

Hollanders who have sprung from the middle class of townspeople in The Netherlands have retained intact in America most of the traits characteristic of genteel people everywhere. Culture, however, in the broad sense of the word, is conspicuously absent in the life of most Hollanders in Iowa. With the exception of ministers, teachers, and other people of more than ordinary education, the Hollanders, it is to be feared, have sadly neglected even the most accessible forms of culture, such as reading, for in a majority of homes the visitor will find but a scant supply of good newspapers, magazines, and books.[296] To stimulate interest in reading, a Dutch woman, Miss Sieberke Viersen, donated land and money for the Carnegie-Viersen Library at Pella. Other Dutch communities are as yet without such modern opportunities.

The following quotation with reference to the first Dutch immigrants to Iowa does not apply to the great mass of Hollanders who arrived later:

> Even among those Pilgrims who had fled from religious persecution in Holland and were professed lovers of Democracy, there were degrees in the social scale. The wealthy and educated and more refined were exclusive. They brought their ideas of social position with them. The social line between master and servant, or employer and employed, was much more marked than with Americans of this new western country. A young lady who belonged to a family of "upper ten" Hollanders once said to me: "I never worked in Holland for it was considered disgraceful there for a lady to work, but in America I find it is thought to be disgraceful for a lady not to work." [297]

It is true, however, that among the pioneers there prevailed greater simplicity of taste and a wider community of interest than exists among their successors to-day. In all the towns where Hollanders live one may find unmistakable signs of undemocratic ways: some citizens put on airs, not marked, but none the less noticeable. At the same time there exists a fairly even distribution of wealth, and one notes neither extreme wealth nor extreme poverty; while as far as descent is concerned the Hollanders of Iowa are for the most part sprung from the common people of Holland: hence there is at least an equality of birth, even if the people are not equally wealthy, intelligent, and cultured. A tendency to establish ranks on the basis of wealth has sprung up; but despite airs of superiority, real or imagined, Hollanders in America address each other familiarly in

Dutch, a thing which they did not and could not do in monarchical Holland where class distinctions and special forms of address abound.

Business men of the towns naturally assume the initiative in matters of civic concern, for if such affairs were left to retired farmers, artisans, and laboring men, no great amount of public spirit would be shown. Much has already been accomplished in the way of municipal improvements in such towns as Pella, Orange City, Alton, and Sioux Center. Pella has electric light and water conveyed from the Des Moines River, about four miles distant, and lights some of its streets with electroliers. Orange City also has electricity, while the other towns own gas plants. All have telephones and miles upon miles of good cement walks and crossings.

Public parks in the two older towns do not seem to inspire much civic pride, are little enjoyed, and less attended to. Band-stands also have stood for many years, but there is not the sustained enthusiasm which is necessary to maintain bands year after year. And yet when such organizations as brass-bands and base-ball teams are called into existence, they are liberally supported by the business men and citizens. Young men outgrow their period of play and early direct their efforts to the achievement of financial success — whereupon they have no time to sacrifice in purely congenial pursuits.

Public school buildings in the Dutch communities compare favorably with those of American towns. Jails might just as well not exist, for lawlessness is almost unknown. The saloons of two or three years ago have been plucked out of Pella, Orange City, and some other towns, and though a visit to their railroad stations reveals a brisk traffic in liquor, Hollanders are pretty evenly divided between temperance and total abstinence.

Neat stores and good shop windows add much to the appearance of most of the towns. When high market prices induce farmers to go to town with their loads of hogs or grain, and when Saturdays come, town streets and stores lose their deserted look and business becomes paramount. Then town and country people throng the shops — the former to buy goods for cash, and the latter to trade their butter and eggs for the next week's supplies. Then one hears a Babel of dialects from nearly all the provinces of Holland.

There are people who speak the dialects peculiar to the fertile sea-clay and marshy fen lands of South and North Holland; there are natives from the archipelago of Zeeland, from the beautiful woodland and meadows of Utrecht, and others come from the sandhills of Gelderland. Still others hail from the meadows and moors of Overysel, from the desolate wastes of fen-land and heather-covered moorland of Drenthe; and many speak the droll dialect of the agricultural province of Groningen or the language of Friesland. Pure Dutch, when it is heard, is a welcome relief in the midst of such a jargon of tongues. Furthermore, in conversation and in business transactions people adopt Americanisms of common usage, and oftentimes they alternate between English and Dutch. Indeed, there is no better time than Saturday afternoons to observe that the Dutch language can not withstand the persistent inroads of the English. (See Appendix C.)

One still occasionally meets with old immigrants who wear plain band earrings of silver or gold. While wooden-shoes are not worn in public, they are manufactured for home use in every Dutch community: they are a convenient accessory by the use of which every good housewife is relieved of the constant application of mop or broom, for either in town or country they may be stepped into as one leaves the house, worn upon wet lawns or muddy yards, and left at the door upon returning. They help to keep the house "netjes" (neat).

Hollanders take very little interest in the forms of recreation and amusement so popular in American towns and cities: they are such poor patrons of "shows" of every kind that traveling companies habitually pass them by as unprofitable. Halls are sometimes used for political gatherings, band concerts, and lecture courses — for which townspeople are with some difficulty induced to subscribe. Skating-rinks, moving-picture shows, and dances attract the younger folks, but dancing is rarely indulged in because it shocks and antagonizes older people. Fourth of July celebrations among the Hollanders do not differ from the boisterous exhibitions so peculiar to America, but in Sioux County hundreds of people spend the day together in a quiet Christian way. Street fairs, too, and carnivals, and agricultural and stock shows are becoming more popular and surely more easily accessible since automobiles have come along to annihilate time and space; but the devil-may-care spirit of the Dutch "kermis" or annual fair in Holland is not to be met with in Iowa.

Generally speaking, the old-fashioned Hollanders of Iowa do not assemble in large numbers except for religious or church purposes. As the years pass, however, the young people tend more and more in their everyday life to adopt the ways of the American public and to break with the orthodox views of their elders, and thus exert a softening influence on the hard tone of community life; but parents continue to hope and pray that their children will retain the traditional hardihood, industry, frugality, thrift, morality, and religion for which the Hollanders are famous as a people.

COUNTRY LIFE

The following are the words of an American pioneer woman who saw the Pella Hollanders on the road to their lands in Marion County and who knew them as neighbors for nearly sixty years.[298] What she said is true of the great mass of Dutch immigrants to Iowa: since their first harvest in the autumn of 1848, when they took pride in the fact that they kept their farms neater than Americans did, their chief contribution to the progress and wealth of the State has been in the domain of agriculture:[299]

> We were prepared to think well of this people, for we had heard only good of their character. We had been told that they were an honest, moral, industrious, God-fearing people, and from that time to the present have never heard it disputed. . . . All these Hollanders had money, some had a good deal, and they all seemed to know the best way to invest it. . . . It wasn't long before their superior farming and gardening began to be noticed and talked about, and many slovenly farmers were induced to make more out of their rich lands through the example of those frugal and thrifty Hollanders. They were not only industrious and prosperous but were hospitable. We used to wonder at the pluck, the endurance and the patience of those people. . . . They learned long ago how to manage the rich Iowa soil and their magnificent farms with commodious buildings reach out miles and miles in every direction from Pella.

As an element in the rural population of Iowa the immigrant farmers from Holland have found that the soil of Iowa, unlike that of their native land, lends itself easily to cultivation on account of its looseness and lightness, and that by reason of its fertility it yields rich crops for a long series of years almost entirely without the aid of fertilizing materials. In Holland, as peasant laborers and peasant farmers, they were compelled to subject the soil to much careful and laborious attention; with fewer acres to cultivate they made their little farms bear two or three crops each season. In the fatherland theirs was the unending toil of men, but in

Iowa where they gather only one crop annually labor is less grinding, for from large farms they reap wheat, oats, and barley which ripen with great rapidity, and Indian corn which shoots beyond the need of man's work in a few weeks' time.

In Holland where they had steady work in the fields, laborers were so plentiful and so cheap that nearly all the work was done by hand. In America the Hollander prefers to attend to his own business rather than another's and consequently farm servants as a class are scarce. He finds that Yankee ingenuity and inventiveness have come to the rescue of the American farmer: gangplows, wide harrows, pulverizers, seeders, mowers, hay-rakes, binders, and threshing-machines, and all the other agricultural conveniences supply the place of human hands. But at the same time many a Dutch woman reared on Iowa soil has helped her father or husband do general farm work during a busy season.

The Hollander farms on a big scale even if he is not always thorough. Accustomed to neatness and economy in Holland he at first shudders with horror at the sight of weeds and waste upon American farms; but he is soon hardened, if not reconciled, to such surroundings, because he discovers that they are attendant upon American farm methods. If he is fortunate enough to have a large family of sons, the Dutch farmer plays havoc with weeds and endeavors to eradicate all traces of them from his sight; while in the matter of wastefulness he is, perhaps, not so guilty as his American neighbors.[300]

Intrenched upon some of the most fruitful land, unsurpassed for richness of soil, the Hollanders of Marion County and of Sioux County later have looked upon agriculture as their chief source of livelihood, for success has consistently attended their efforts. That the Dutch are among the best farmers in the State of Iowa and therefore in the United States can be gathered from many years of agricultural history. In Sioux County where 1440 farmers are foreign-born and 1275 are native-born (Sioux County's northern neighbor, Lyon County, is the only other Iowa county where foreign-born outnumber native-born), the farmers of Dutch birth and ancestry form a majority.[301] Statistics of 1910 for Sioux County, the most typical and most prosperous Dutch farming community in America, reveal no less the character of Dutch farmers in other counties of Iowa.

Sioux County has farm property including land, buildings, implements and machinery, domestic animals, poultry and bees, valued at nearly $65,000,000, and in this matter bows only to Pottawattamie County which has an area one hundred square miles larger. Next to Kossuth, Plymouth, and Pottawattamie counties, each of which covers an area one-eighth larger, Sioux County contains the largest number of acres of improved land.

The farmers of Sioux County rank fourth in acres planted in corn and tie for second place in the number of bushels raised; fifth in acres of oats and third in bushels raised; and first in acres planted in barley and in bushels raised. They sow almost no winter wheat and rank fourth for spring wheat. Sioux County stands sixth in the number of horses, sixth in the number of cattle, eighteenth in the number of milk-cows, third in number of hogs, and thirty-eighth in poultry.

As compared with other counties of larger area, Sioux County shows a wonderful record in agriculture and stock-raising. Naturally well-drained, farms there require no help from man; indeed, tile-laying is more of an industry among the Hollanders of Marion County. In recent years Dutch farmers have learned that taking the same crop from the same land without rest or interruption is an exhaustive and unwise policy to pursue. Of fertilizing their fields they formerly had little thought, but in 1908 Sioux County farmers, and the Hollanders especially, did more to improve the fertility of their soil than the farmers of any other county in Iowa. And although the average value of land per acre in Sioux County is from $100 to $125, land values among the Hollanders hover around the $150 and $200 marks. As a matter of fact there is not much land on the market, and rents are climbing higher and higher.[302]

There was a time also when the Hollanders cared very little about improving the breed of horses, cattle, and hogs: "scrubs" were good enough. But as prosperity increased and as their knowledge of American farm life grew, especially from visits to county agricultural fairs, there was awakened in them a desire to have only blooded stock. To-day they think better of raising horses, cattle, and hogs related to the best strain of imported and registered breeds. Fine herds of Durham, Hereford, Holstein, Friesian, Shorthorn, and other breeds of cattle are not numerous, but are at least aspired after. Poland China, Duroc Jersey, and Berkshire hogs are one of the main sources of revenue. The pride of the Dutch farmer is fine draft horses sired by the best imported Percheron, Norman, and Clydesdale stallions, which are usually bought and owned by associations of farmers.[308]

As in Holland, Dutch farmers in Iowa show a tendency to work on old-fashioned principles and to neglect or even laugh at scientific farming: they are inclined to be skeptical about modern improved methods, and either have a low opinion or none at all of the doctrines propounded by agricultural theorists who occasionally lecture among them. On the other hand, they make up for that handicap by being thoroughly hard-working and thrifty. Their wives and daughters are none the less energetic, often working in the fields; while, generally speaking, they have few of the wants which so often accompany the life of Yankee farmers.

And though there may be lack of education among many of the Hollanders, they are by no means ignorant men. Neighbors are on the best of terms and help one another in the busy season. When a progressive Hollander or American has successfully experimented with some new idea, his neighbors soon wake up to the fact and are glad to learn a practical lesson. They are slow but sure: the value of the automobile to the farmer has recently been demonstrated to them, not without result. It remains to be seen whether Dutch farmers will invest in silos, the latest farm novelty. Sioux County could boast of sixteen in 1908 and Marion County had but one. They had thirty-nine and fourteen, respectively, in 1910.[304]

Hollanders on the farms of Iowa have not been much given to reading: they have shown a lamentable backwardness in this respect, perhaps because they work from early in the morning till late at night. But whether they lacked the time or the inclination in past years, they have begun to feel the need of such weeklies as *The Homestead, Wallace's Farmer, The Farmer's Tribune*, and *The Stock-breeder's Journal*, as well as of daily newspapers for the latest market reports. All of these innovations, besides rural telephones and rural mail deliveries in both Sioux and Marion counties, have brought the Hollanders into closer touch with the world. Slowly but surely they are installing the latest conveniences in their houses and the most practical mechanical appliances upon their farms, but they never lose sight of their motto to buy land, keep it, and treat it well.

The Hollander can not be said to belong to that class of people who live beyond their means, but he is, on the contrary, an extremely conservative spender and investor. As his wealth accumulates he becomes more willing to incur occasional expense for this or that luxury, but the element of speculation for the sake of increased returns does not lure him to adopt all the up-to-date methods of his wide-awake progressive American neighbors. At the end of the year, however, the Dutch farmer can point to a comfortable margin in his favor, even if he has not enjoyed all the comforts of his Yankee brothers. Such is the thrift of Hollanders that ninety-five per cent of the chattel mortgages in Marion County cover property owned by farmers south of the Des Moines River where comparatively few Hollanders live. Such is their honesty that the banks of Pella have more unsecured notes than any other banks in Iowa.[305]

Judging from their past and present enthusiasm for agriculture the Hollanders of Iowa will not soon desert their farms. Immigrants from Holland are willing to work harder in America because they can find financial contentment sooner, while the sons of immigrants are convinced that farming is on the whole a very satisfactory occupation, even if not always pleasant. Like the Scandinavians and the Germans of Iowa, the Hollanders are sons of the soil with inexhaustible patience and a willingness to take pains; and as perhaps no other foreigners in the United States they exemplify the truth of the assertion that northern Europeans will be able to take care of America's farms in the future: they are workers, plodders, savers; and they know how to make farms pay.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER FROM HENDRIK BARENDREGT TO H. P. SCHOLTE

THOSE portions of Barendregt's letter to Rev. H. P. Scholte which depicted conditions in the Mississippi Valley in 1846 and informed oncoming Dutch emigrants as to matters connected with the voyage to America deserve to be translated and preserved as an interesting picture of the times. Copious extracts follow:

As we entered the Gulf of Mexico on the 14th of November, the wind changed so that we sailed before it and on the 18th we could see the low shores of the New World. We were pulled along farther by a steam tug which tows vessels up the Mississippi, no matter how the wind blows, and at 7 a. m. we arrived at New Orleans. The Lord had surely helped us. Although we came by a round-about way, we completed the voyage from Holland to New Orleans in 45 days. We had five deaths and three births — all Germans.

To be brief I shall not write too much of what we saw upon the Mississippi, only something of New Orleans: this is a very large and extensive city; everything seems to be but just begun, and one sees hundreds of houses rising up everywhere; all is bustle, unusually so on account of the rattle and rumble of wagons and carts. Six hundred ocean ships lie alongside the wharves three by three, also a large number of steamboats, mostly very big for their kind but of construction entirely different from that of boats in Holland. They say that 1300 of these are engaged upon the Mississippi, and I can easily believe it judging from all the hustle and hurry. Sailing vessels one does not see; they can not be used since the river channel is very crooked and the wind can never blow in such a way as to allow ships to make headway. The stream flows constantly and the river banks are covered with trees so that neither horses nor human beings can draw a ship. Then too, distances are so long that 10 or 12 hours is a mere trifle. From New Orleans to St. Louis is 1200 or 1300 English miles. Shipping as in Holland is therefore impracticable.

Arriving at New Orleans in the morning, that same day we took a steamboat to carry us up the river. The fare was $2.50 or one half for children under nine years of age, while each person had 100 pounds of baggage free, and for additional freight one had to pay 25 cents per hundred pounds. We paid some money down before starting.

The following will serve as a bit of information: before a ship arrives at New Orleans, a customs officer comes on board. He makes out a list of the families and the number of people composing them as well as the number of trunks and fire-arms. I advise everyone to answer his questions accurately, not to conceal anything as the expense is the same whether one has six or twelve trunks.

He only wishes to know what every immigrant has. One receives two blank papers — these one must get filled out in the toll-house, as the office is called, the sooner the better. The officer has the right to demand 50 American cents for the two papers; but he may also give them free of cost and so one can try to get them for less money — the poor now and then excite pity. At the time of signing one pays 20 cents more for the two papers. I write this because some imagine that all this is unnecessary graft, but this is really not so, for the officer who superintends the inspection of one's property lets nothing pass for which one does not have papers. One must also make out a paper and have it signed by the captain, wherein is receipted the amount of money paid down for freight upon the steamboat.

The river steamboats all lie at the wharves, with signboards which bear the date of departure and the destination. One goes aboard and usually finds the captain, with whom one makes the contract. . . . Everywhere there are interpreters who desire to be of service to you at all times; these are unnecessary if you have with you a person who speaks English; if among your company no one can be found who has a command of this language, as was the case with us, it is best to employ them, but always with caution, because some of them are grafters. We were fortunate to get a reasonably good man.

This too is a serious matter: everywhere along our route people try to reduce the value of our gold money and also the five-franc pieces, and here a gold piece is worth about four dollars; as to the five-franc pieces I have had no experience.

This also is good advice: "Know the Lord in all thy ways." The application which we have made of this is broad. Think of it: the steamboat which we visited first with our interpreter and which asked a three-dollar fare, departed a short while before we did, and when we overtook her three days later, we learned that she had collided with another boat in the midst of a thick fog, had burst a boiler, and sunk so that forty-five passengers lost their lives! We saved the crew and a few others from the wreck and put them ashore at the first town. That we did not take passage on the steamboat is not to be ascribed to our wisdom, because the fare demanded was not at all extortionate; besides, she appeared to be a good boat, while ours was much older and weaker; we also learned that she was very slow; in short, that we did not choose the unfortunate boat was the Lord's work: let Him be thanked and praised.

We finished the trip from New Orleans to St. Louis in nine days. Along this river from beginning to end are wooded banks. Never would I have imagined that there was still so much apparently quite useless timber in the world; and now I can very readily believe that I have seen but a small portion of America, as here and there one perceives the beginning or laying out of a city. At first one sees sugar cane, further on cotton, and then, through openings in the timber, fields of maize; furthermore the river is filled with floating logs which are everywhere sent adrift along the banks.

Here at St. Louis there is much industry; 1300 new buildings are being constructed, 500 were completed this past summer, and everything seems to be but just begun. They say that the city is three hours long; this strikes me as rather exaggerated, but I have no good reason to doubt it. Two of our brethren tried to see the city from one end to the other; but as it took so long, they got tired and turned back.

The incoming and outgoing steamboats are also very numerous here. Everything is conveyed across the city here and at New Orleans by means of horses, mules, or oxen, of which one sometimes sees as many as twelve but usually eight drawing a wagon. Cattle are butchered, quartered, and piled on carts.

Everything comes to market: vegetables, apples, potatoes, mutton, fish of all sorts; but nothing can be called cheap, except bread, meal or flour, meat and pork: these alone are to be classed among cheap articles in America. And although there is so much timber, if one has to buy firewood, he has to pay a big price.

Here winter set in just as we arrived. Everything is snowed under, and just now it is freezing besides, but not severely. The journey to Iowa or Wisconsin we cannot continue because the river is too low for steamboat travel. But this we don't consider necessary since we have met with several brothers from Winterswijk, of whom two had just been to Iowa shortly before our arrival. Besides, there are German brethren here, Methodists, who are acquainted with all conditions, have shown us much friendliness and willingness to help, and have undertaken to answer the questions which you gave me to prompt my investigations. Enclosed is a letter by one of them in the German language. So much of it as he read to me, I can best guarantee to be the exact truth.

The following will serve to explain matters:

1. Land along the rivers is everywhere in the hands of speculators, from whom it is still to be obtained at an increased price.

2. Stock is not so expensive. For $10 one can buy a good cow with calf. Also, Jan Schaap and I saw a horse which looked sound and fast, for which not more than $15 was offered.

3. Bricks are large, almost like the red bricks of Holland but they are not baked hard, hence not of the best quality. Lime is fairly good, 20 cents per bushel which is equivalent to 50 cents for 25 pounds in The Netherlands.

4. I myself have bought good fat meat for two cents and pork for 2¼ cents per pound. As to the weight, I believe the pound here is less than the pound of five ounces in Holland.

5. Feathers are very good at 25 cents per pound.

If you abide by your decision to settle in North America, then the following will also serve to inform you:

First: Every land-buyer who wants to cultivate land of his own must above all manage to bring his laborers with him from Holland, if he thinks he will need help.

Secondly: The cost of living will be moderate before one gets a crop; bread and meat and pork are necessities and they are cheap here; for clothing, house-rent, and firewood one need have no anxiety.

Thirdly: For those who are good makers of butter and cheese prospects are certainly fine, because these products are bad in the market here. As to dairy appliances it will be well to take along as many as possible, especially what can be packed into boxes. On shipboard one needs pay no more for them and steamboat freight is only 25 cents per hundred pounds. Everything is obtainable here, but generally expensive. I give the same advice as to all tools and implements, for example those needed for agriculture and all sorts of trades; yet I should certainly not advise you to buy anything new in Holland to take with you, since the difference in price is not large enough. Besides there is much difference in tools and not everyone must expect to be able to remain a Hollander if he comes to live in America; ways and manners should be followed here. My meaning is that he who has tools should not throw them away for a trifle, especially not if they are still good; but to take trash along to America is always nonsense.

I may also add that everyone should take his best tableware if it is not too easily broken; if it is well packed between clothing in boxes full to the cover, one can easily keep it whole; our things thus far are pretty well preserved despite the fact that our boxes are sometimes rolled along like barrels. Thus anyone can well understand that boxes should be particularly strong; for I have seen many smashed and then much hard treatment of the contents; also, the boxes must not be too big, for in that event they are handled more harshly still.

Further I shall give some advice relative to food-stuff and household articles:

There should be 160 pounds for each person, distributed as follows: 10 pounds of bacon, reasonably thick, for making pan-cakes; 10 pounds of ham to eat with bread, etc.; 10 pounds of meat; 20 pounds of rice, which costs nearly the same here; 20 pounds of flour, which should all be used up; 15 pounds of potatoes; 20 pounds of green peas, of the best quality; if one can save these, they can be used as seed, as I have seen only poor ones here and expensive ones at that; 20 pounds of capuchin peas; 30 pounds of the best bread cut into slices and well dried; 5 pounds of ordinary rusks.

Further it is well and useful to bring a quantity of headcheese, besides butter, cheese, loaf-sugar, prunes, and everything one can eat without cooking, sweet cake, various drinks, wine, brandy, Rhine wine, gin, vinegar, salt, mustard, pepper, coffee, tea, as well as some household remedies for illness, for the Americans have no doctor on board, and so everyone takes care of himself.

The household utensils consist of tea-kettle, copper or iron cooking-pot, tin pan, tin-plates from which to eat, since passengers can seldom sit together regularly, tin water-cans or kegs, etc. If a person must go singly, I advise him to coöperate with six or eight others, or else the company will be too large, and differences of opinion are likely to arise.

Further, I must say that the carriers here treat people variously; they appear to deduct as much as possible. Among us there were some who paid from 30 to 35 florins [$12 to $14], and we had to pay 45 florins. There were also some on board our ship who were offered transportation on a good ship at 35 florins if their families wanted to take advantage of the offer in the spring.

I do not exactly know whether to advise people to come by way of New York or New Orleans; but this I know, that if one sails from Holland after the month of February, the journey by way of New Orleans is too hot; in that case I prefer New York; one should take into consideration the increased expense and trouble involved in taking a land journey; but if one can depart before or during the month of February, come to New Orleans, because that means a saving of trouble and expense.

It also makes a great deal of difference where one expects to settle. If Iowa is the place, the journey by way of New York is more difficult, as one must in all events go to Milwaukee first and from there back to Iowa, which is not necessary if one comes by way of New Orleans; for then one can easily get to Iowa by steamboat. In all cases it is best for those who undoubtedly intend to settle in this region to come to St. Louis, whence it is so easy to depart in all directions.

As to the climate, I understand it is much too warm for us here in the summer; for it happens that a laborer who chops wood or unloads wood from ships is offered three dollars a day in summer, and now can get only 50 or 75 cents. Iowa, I hear, is a good ways north and therefore much colder.

All sorts of products are raised here: maize, wheat, rye, oats, beans, etc. As for cabbage seed, it is hardly to be found; since lard is cheap here, there is not much need of cabbage-seed oil. The prices of grain are not high — there is reason for this, but then we should have to enter into a discussion of several matters, viz., the yield of the land, labor, cost of planting, sowing, etc. But I am not well enough acquainted with the facts to speak about the matter, and there is little or no need to do so; if for example I give a price, a person in Holland will prepare at once to make comparisons and figure according to Dutch standards. . . . Experience will be the best teacher here.

As for the worship of God: one finds really God-fearing people among the Germans and also among the English; indeed there are many Christian negroes here. We find the Germans very friendly; but we do not harmonize in everything. The Sabbath is reasonably respected. One finds no shocking immorality here, as in Rotterdam or other cities of Holland.

As for the schools, you know they are free here; usually there is a school with every church. I am not yet well enough informed so as to give a good account of the school system. Sunday-schools are numerous here, and one can get free instruction: these are also good to enable us to learn a little of the English language. He who knows English well possesses riches, if he comes here, from Holland. I cannot therefore enough urge everyone by all means to learn the English language.

I have nothing special which I consider necessary to add. My request is that you be so good as to publish this letter so far as you are able, likewise to see to it that brother van H—— of R—— be informed at an early date. Tell him that as baker he could more easily be lord in St. Louis than citizen in Rotterdam. Also K——, who put me many questions which are answered herein; also Mr. Jansdam, etc.

Respectfully and affectionately, yours in the Lord Jesus Christ. HEND'K BARENDREGT.

N. B. Be sure to greet brother Betten. Of the letter written by Brummelkamp and van Raalte to procure financial aid for the worthy poor, we here are not informed. Nor do we know anything of van Raalte and those who sailed with him.

APPENDIX B

THE ATTITUDE OF THE HOLLANDERS OF IOWA DURING THE BOER WAR

DURING the closing months of the nineteenth century England had no enemies fiercer than the Hollanders of Iowa. They manifested a vital concern in the outcome of differences between Boers and Britons and contemplated every event in South Africa with feelings of intensest partisanship: never were newspapers more in demand, never were campaigns followed with keener interest, and never did victories call forth more genuine exclamations of triumph.

Recalling the Jameson Raid and the rôle played by Cecil Rhodes, "a great bandit", in South African affairs, and seeing how British aggression was gradually forcing the Boers into an unequal contest, the Hollanders were roused from their accustomed lethargy to vehement expressions of indignation. They interpreted events in South Africa as a veritable call to arms to all Hollanders who loved justice. Furthermore, did not they and the Boers spring from the same fatherland and speak the same language?

Those who advocated the principles of the Democratic party were not the only Hollanders who insisted that President McKinley should intermeddle in

Boer-British affairs. When matters were reaching a crisis the Republican administration called forth more and more criticism and abuse for its policy of neutrality, and when war finally broke out McKinley and all Republicans were loudly accused of hostility towards the Transvaal.

No Dutch newspaper in Iowa gave more radical expression to its anti-Republican and anti-British feeling than *De Vrije Hollander* of Orange City. Van Oosterhout played upon the heart-strings of his readers. Patriotic Hollanders were reminded that the Boers were forced to fight for their freedom and their hearths against the mightiest country in the world; all Hollanders were urged to show their sympathy for that heroic people. "Let our Dutch newspapers declare themselves on this matter; let us call meetings; let us prepare subscriptions", declared the editor, "and let us show that we are with the Boers in their struggle heart and soul, let us help their widows and orphans — this is better than resolutions and telegrams."

On the 15th of November, 1899, the first Transvaal meeting was held in Sioux County. Several ministers of Dutch churches took a prominent part, and a fund for Boer orphans and widows was at once started. Heading the list with a donation of $50, *De Vrije Hollander* for over two years contained weekly reports of the donors and the amounts of their gifts.[306]

On December 1, 1899, there was published the following appeal:[307]

From
The Land of the Free
and the Home of the Brave,
far down in South Africa, comes no wailing, comes no cry for help or assistance.

Yet in
The Land of the Free
and the Home of the Brave,
in the western hemisphere, we hear by the mysterious electric fluid the reverberations of the death-dealing thunder of England's mighty liddyte guns, of the incessant crackling of the never-missing mausers of the Boers.

Americans, who always loved liberty, who always sympathised with the oppressed, who always abhorred tyranny, more so when under the cloak of hypocrisy, cannot blame their co-citizens of Holland origin, if their hearts throb, and an enthusiastic joy, strange to their phlegmatic temperament, makes every nerve thrill, when they see two small republics, of the same stock, the same flesh and blood as their own, dare to stand up for freedom and independence against the Colossus of our times.

Never did Spartans, never did Romans in their best days, show greater courage, loftier determination to live or die free men, than did the three hundred thousand Transvaalers and Free Staters, when they took up the gauntlet of perfidious Albion with its more than 300 million subjects!

And our sympathy goes out to the manly Americans who blushing say: "This is the first time in our history, that our government stands listlessly by, when a big bully tries to choke freedom and tramples on a weaker nation; this is the first time that our administration stands as Saul, guarding the clothes of those that stoned Stephen and approving their deed."

Yes, we sympathise with them, and the world will not hold them responsible for the acts and sympathies of a president and his cabinet, who departed from the old and glorious traditions, that made America the guiding star of the lovers of freedom, the hope of the oppressed.

Therefore we, your Holland co-citizens, call on all you that love freedom, that detest the oppression of the weak by the strong and say to you: "Those little republics have found the bottom of their treasury; the London money-market will not give them credit; they will have thousands of maimed and crippled for life. thousands of widows and orphans. They have not the unbounded credit of our nation, not the immense resources of the first republic that wrested her freedom from England's grasp, and yet those thousands must be cared for, may not — by God Almighty's help — be beggars and outcasts."

Holland and Belgium, France and Germany, and even Russia are collecting funds for the Red Cross and for kindred purposes.

Shall Americans stand idly by, shall we be niggards, shall we, to please our friend, the grasping, grinding, greedy Briton, refuse to lend our aid to heroes whose superiors the world did never see?

God forbid!

Therefore we, your Holland co-citizens, remembering how magnanimously you came to the rescue when want and famine reigned in Russia or India, ask you to contribute something for the heroic Transvaalers and Free Staters for their widows and their orphans.

The mite of the poorest is as welcome as the greater gifts of the rich.

Therefore we wish to give all those that sympathise with the Boers occasion to donate something for:

The crippled, the widows and orphans of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

The undersigned have formed a committee to receive the money, collected in this way, and will send same to the representative of the Transvaal, residing in Brussels, and send his receipts to the different papers who may send us their contribution.

Not doubting a generous response, we are, respectfully,

Hon. H. Hospers, State Senator, Orange City, Pres.

M. P. van Oosterhout, Ed. *De Vrije Hollander*, Orange City, Sec.

Hon. A. W. van Wagenen, Ex-District Judge, Sioux City.

John Nollen, Cashier First National Bank, Pella.

J. H. Stubenrauch, Pella.

P. D. van Oosterhout, County Attorney, Orange City.

Orange City, Iowa, November 27, 1899.

The Hollanders gave way to unbounded excitement and pleasure when news of Boer successes reached them. At Pella the Dutch newspapers published all the latest despatches from the front, and the post-office was kept open until a late hour at night so that citizens might get mail brought by the last evening trains. Ministers spoke at all the Boer meetings in the neighborhood. *Pella's Nieuwsblad* posted bulletins. Everywhere the Hollanders in Iowa welcomed the reports of British disasters: although they could not expect a handful of people to prevail against such overwhelming odds, the Hollanders rejoiced in months of British reverses and wished English armies nothing but confusion.[308]

The *Sioux City Journal* made the sensational announcement that the business men of Alton, Maurice, Ireton, Le Mars, and Fort Dodge had collected $25,000 to send two companies of fifty men each to the Transvaal to help the Boers, provided the Federal authorities could be outwitted. It was reported that this filibustering party had been organized under the command of a member of the First Regiment of Illinois Volunteers and of veterans of the Cuban and Philippine war; and that the men drilled after dark outside the town of Orange City.

Equally untrue statements appeared in correspondence from Sioux Center to the *Chicago Times-Herald* published under the following headlines: "*A Whole Regiment. Hundreds Leave Sioux County for the Transvaal to Help the Boers.*" It was reported that these adventurers intended to proceed to the field of war by threes and fours by various routes in order to escape the vigilance of the United States authorities. The fact that numerous young men who had talked of serving in the Boer army disappeared suddenly without leaving word behind lent color to the rumor that they had started on the journey: their relatives, it was said, felt no uneasiness at their absence, which obviously would not be the case if they were ignorant of all the facts.[309]

Money poured into the treasury of the Iowa Transvaal Committee from the Hollanders of Minnesota, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and from all the Dutch communities in Iowa, as well as from such towns as Sioux City and Iowa City. Governor John Lind of Minnesota sent $10, together with a letter in which he declared that the war was due principally to Cecil Rhodes's press bureau, his tremendous capital, powerful influence, etc. Within four months the Committee forwarded $1,000 to Dr. Leyds at Brussels and $300 to Amsterdam.[310]

Merchants among the Hollanders advertised "Transvaal Days" to be held in their stores: for several weeks a druggist whose advertisement in large type began with "Hoera voor Transvaal!" promised to donate 5% of his sales on Saturdays to the Boer cause. All good Hollanders wore "Oom Paul" buttons on their coat lapels, and many a child born during those stirring months was named after Paul Kruger, Piet Joubert, Piet Cronje and other Boer generals.[311]

On the 2nd day of January, 1900, the following resolutions were spread upon the minutes of the city council of Pella:

> Whereas, The cause of human liberty, as exemplified by those who are now so valiantly defending their homes in the sister republics in South Africa is one that appeals strongly to American citizens, who wrested the precious boon of self-government from the self same ruthless invaders, and who now attempt to assimilate the inhabitants of those countries, therefore,
>
> Resolved, That we believe the cause of the Transvaal and Orange Free State to be one of justice and right as against the encroachment of the avaricious British intruder.

We heartily rejoice in the success which has so far crowned the efforts of its defenders, and we sincerely hope and trust that with the help from on High complete victory may follow, and that the soil of South Africa may soon become too hot for the oppressor and that in humiliation and disgrace he may be driven hence.

Resolved, That we acknowledge with unbounded satisfaction and delight the course Senator Mason of Illinois has pursued, in his eloquent pleading in a speech before the Senate of the United States in favor of the righteous cause of the Boers, and we urge him to continue the good work, and thus assist in developing a hearty and intelligent sentiment in regard to this important question of public policy and the attitude that the United States should pursue in the premises.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Presidents Kruger and Steyn, Hon. W. E. Mason and our Senators and Representatives in Congress and to such others as may be deemed necessary.

On motion of Mr. Reuvers to adopt said Resolution a roll call was ordered which resulted as follows: Reuvers, van der Sluis, Maasdam, van Zante, van Nimwegen, Wormhoudt and Kruger voted aye (7), Fisk being absent.

A few days later similar resolutions were adopted by the city council of Orange City as follows:[312]

Whereas the South African Republics, Transvaal and Orange Free State, have been forced into a war of self defence and for their very existence by the English Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, backed by some of the large capitalists of England, who wish to obtain complete control of these small States in order to take from them their mineral wealth, their liberty and government by fair means or foul, and as we firmly believe without the support of a large number of honest, liberty-loving Englishmen at home and abroad, and against their earnest protest; and,

Whereas the action now taken by the English government is like the action taken by George the Third against the New England colonies a hundred and twenty-five years ago, with this aggravation thereto that the present South African war is a war of conquest against independent foreign States, to crush out from them the last spark of equality, liberty, and self-government, while in this country it was a colony in fact which she sought thus to crush; therefore,

Resolved, that we American citizens of Orange City, Iowa, believe in the justice of the cause of the Boers in this war against the money, greed, and ruthless grasp for additional territory on the part of Great Britain, and it is our hearty wish that the victories now achieved by the Boers may be followed by more and greater victories, until the English armies shall be hurled from the soil of South Africa and complete independence and self-government on the basis of equal rights to all men be established there.

Resolved, that we heartily endorse the actions of so many of our prominent newspapers in the United States, of so many benevolent societies, of so many of our United States Senators, Representatives and other prominent men, and so many of the City Councils in prominent Cities in so boldly expressing their convictions of the justice of the cause of the Boers and their endeavor to obtain such action as shall cause the United States to tender its good offices in the cause of a just and impartial peace and thus prevent the ruthless shedding of more blood.

Resolved, that we heartily endorse the action of many American communities in their collection of funds for the widows and orphans of Boer soldiers who are killed or maimed in battle, and to defray the expense of Red Cross nurses to care for the sick and wounded, and hope that such acts of benevolence will continue until an honorable peace has been agreed upon.

Resolved, that we firmly believe that as American citizens it is our duty to protest against all encroachments on personal liberty wherever such may be done the world over, until tyranny shall be stamped out and the people of all countries enjoy the rights of universal suffrage wherever they are capable of self-government.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency President Wm. McKinley, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress and to Presidents Kruger and Steyn.

A. Bolks, Mayor.
A. van der Meide, Clerk.

On the 22nd of January, 1900, the Sioux County member introduced into the State House of Representatives the following resolution:

> That the members of the House sympathize with the Boers in South Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence; that their brave stand for their rights entitles them to the respect of the civilized world, and that we trust the President may find a way to tender the good offices of the United States to aid in bringing about peace.

By a vote of 57 to 22 this resolution was laid on the table. The Democratic editor of *De Vrije Hollander* thanked the six Republicans who favored the resolution, three of them representing large Dutch constituencies in the counties of Sioux, Marion, and Grundy.[318]

Mass meetings were frequently called at Pella, Otley, and Sully, and at Orange City, Sioux Center, Maurice, Alton, Rock Valley, and other towns in the vicinity. Hollanders also spoke at meetings in Le Mars and Sioux City. All these gatherings ended with generous donations for the Boers. Much money was collected also through the churches and by means of concerts and subscription lists which were carried from house to house. In August, 1900, three young men from Sioux County — A. Kline, H. Dekker, and M. te Veltrup — were thus enabled to enlist in the Boer armies: they fought until the Boers were overwhelmed.[314]

In the summer of 1900 C. H. Wessels, President of the Orange Free State Volksraad, passed through Alton where the Transvaal and Orange Free State flags were flying at the railroad station. A large crowd of Hollanders from all the neighboring towns greeted him with loud hurrahs for the Transvaal and listened to his address in the Dutch language. The Boer representatives who accompanied him were A. D. W. Wolmarens and A. Fisscher.[315]

De Vrije Hollander at Orange City and *Pella's Nieuwsblad* never ceased their violent attacks upon McKinley for his "murder and robbery policy" and his failure to aid the Boers. Republican and Democratic rallies in the autumn of 1900 assumed additional importance among the Hollanders — the Democrats even obtained speakers in the Dutch language. William J. Bryan gained many votes as a consequence.[316]

Money continued to be collected in every possible way during the year 1901: at Pella the Moonlight Mission Band of the First Reformed church held socials. In Sioux County at the Christian celebration of the Fourth of July a large sum was contributed for the Boers. Shortly afterward H. D. Viljoen, Field Cornet, and Commandant Liebenberg were commended to the good-will of the people of Iowa by the proclamation of Governor Shaw. These two men who had fought in the war put up a large tent wherever they stopped, delivered addresses on the Boers and their land, attracted great crowds in all the Dutch communities at an admission price of twenty-five cents, and raised about $1,000 for Boer orphans and widows.[317]

In the month of October, 1901, Rev. van Broekhuizen spoke in nearly all the Dutch churches of Iowa: he raised $560 in two meetings at Pella, $530 at Orange City, $350 at Sioux Center, over $200 at Hull, and about $500 at Middelburg, Maurice, Boyden, Rock Valley, and Hospers.[318] A program of one of these gatherings runs as follows:

Psalm 68 — one stanza
Prayer — Rev. J. Keizer
Introduction of Rev. van Broekhuizen by President of Transvaal League — J. H. Stubenrauch
Speech — Rev. van Broekhuizen
Collection recommended — Rev. E. Troost
Collection and Psalm 68 — second and third stanzas
Thanks and Benediction — Rev. Niemeyer

About this time also the hearts of Hollanders were filled with indignation by the exaggerated reports of terrible suffering in the reconcentrado camps maintained by the English in South Africa. President McKinley was asked in a long petition to use his influence to stop the system. Later *De Vrije Hollander* displayed the picture of a child in the last stage of starvation in one of Kitchener's camps. Ministers of the gospel met at Newkirk in Sioux County and drew up a petition to the congressmen from Iowa asking them to protest in the name of Christianity, civilization, and humanity against the judicial murder of Commander Kritzinger or other Boer officers who might be captured, and also to use all their influence with the American government to protest against the cruelty and inhumanity of the reconcentrado camps where the death rate, according to official statistics, ranged from forty to fifty deaths per one hundred each year.[319]

Late in the year 1901 came the call for money and clothing for Boer war prisoners on the Bermuda Islands. The Iowa Transvaal Committee sent over one dozen large boxes of clothing besides money for the prisoners, the Ladies' Aid Societies of the churches doing especially good work. When *De Vrije Hollander* published a letter from a friend on the Bermudas to the effect that all they needed was tobacco, money was at once forthcoming and tobacco was supplied to them.[320]

Pella's Weekblad discovered politics' capital in the favor which Roosevelt was alleged to show towards the English: did he not allow Englishmen to buy horses in America for the war? During these months, indeed, it was well-nigh impossible to buy horses and mules from the Hollanders of Iowa: they regarded every horse-dealer with suspicion, for how should they know but that their animals might be wanted for shipment to the English armies?[321]

As late as September, 1902, in answer to the final appeal of the Iowa Transvaal Committee, money was pouring in. Although no account of sums collected and despatched can be obtained, it is confidently believed that the Hollanders of Iowa gave to the Boers over $10,000 of their wealth, besides clothing and three volunteers.[322] And among the most powerful promoters of the Boer cause were the two Dutch newspapers *Pella's Weekblad* and *De Vrije Hollander*, while no single man exerted himself so ceaselessly as did Martin P. van Oosterhout.

APPENDIX C

THE DUTCH LANGUAGE

ONE of the striking features of life in the Dutch communities of Iowa is the sound of nearly all the dialects of modern Holland. Listening to a conversation between two natives from such a province as Gelderland or Groningen or Drenthe provokes as many smiles as a funny farce. The people of Friesland, however, use a language of their own — indeed, their everyday speech resembles English very much, although their printed language is practically unintelligible to the ordinary philologist.

The use of so many broad dialects and the adoption of innumerable Americanisms has of course detracted not a little from the purity of the Dutch language in Iowa. Formal instruction in the mother tongue has never been seriously attempted except in private night-schools which have frequently been organized in most of the Dutch communities. The survival of the language, however, is none the less remarkable.

Dutch newspapers, Dutch church services, and Dutch literature such as the Bible and Sunday-school weeklies have kept the language alive, as has the continuing immigration from the fatherland. Hollanders who have reached the age of maturity care little to acquire a knowledge of the English language, for it is unnecessary where Dutch is understood in all the affairs of life whether in the country or in the towns.

Children of Dutch parentage, therefore, learn the mother dialect at home and English from their play-mates — they soon speak English almost exclusively among themselves, and only converse with their parents in Dutch. At a very early age children of one family are forced to use English when they can not make themselves understood in dialect to children of another family. Children who learned "Friesch" or "Geldersch" at home find themselves unable to converse with persons who have a command of other dialects or pure Dutch, and so the prevalence of dialects in the Dutch communities of Iowa has come to be responsible for the use of a common language — English.

American-born and immigrant children have, of course, always attended the common schools of their localities — they grow up with the English language. It may be well for the painstaking, careful student to have a familiar acquaintance with two or more languages — each one imparts to the student some advantage or virtue which enriches his knowledge of the others. But the child of Dutch parentage who is reared in the atmosphere of two languages experiences the utmost difficulty in acquiring real fluency in either. Familiarity with two languages is a fine asset, but it has some drawbacks, especially when one limits or interferes with expression in the other.

American teachers in the schools of Dutch communities have discovered an element of humor in the situation: children from Dutch families innocently translate Dutch words and idioms which result oftentimes in the most ludicrous English. Teachers of rhetoric and composition have much cause to smile at the astounding literary productions of their pupils: they have the best reason to believe that a knowledge of Dutch is a handicap which prevents the acquisition of good English. But spoken and written English continues to improve with each succeeding generation.

Many old-fashioned, conservative Hollanders deplore the fact that their mother tongue is gradually falling into disuse, although they feel that Dutch will not entirely disappear as long as fresh accessions of Hollanders from Europe continue "to leaven the loaf". Not long ago people met at Pella to organize a society, "De Nederlansche Bond": they wished to strengthen the bond between Holland and the United States, to study the influence of Holland on American development, to translate and spread Dutch books, to establish libraries of Dutch books, to organize clubs for the study of the literature, history, and law of Holland, and to introduce into high schools instruction in these subjects.

Despite expressions of grief and exhortations to cling to the tongue of their fathers, Hollanders admit that English is slowly but irresistibly undermining the place of the Dutch language in the everyday concerns of business life. English supplants Dutch first in the school, then on the street, then in the family, and lastly in newspapers and churches. That language which is most widely useful will prevail. As one Hollander expressed it: "The English conquest in this respect (who can deny it) is a natural and by no means violent one, quite different from that of other days revealed by history."[323]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

[1] Much has been written in praise of the Dutch nation
nd the Hollanders. Perhaps no more bombastic appre-
ation of Dutch institutions has ever appeared in such at-
active form as Douglas Campbell's *The Puritan in Hol-*
nd, England and America. As for the critical value of
is ingenious two-volume work it is sufficient to refer the
eader to Chapter IX of *The Evolution of the Constitution*
f the United States, which Sydney G. Fisher has devoted
o a very searching analysis and thorough criticism of
ampbell's claims.

On the other hand, while the Dutch in America have
een largely free from disparagement and abuse they have
ot been altogether secure from the ridicule and misrepre-
entations of a school of writers, whose archetype is Wash-
ngton Irving. Mr. Fisher, too, likes that style in *Men,*
omen and Manners in Colonial Times.

"The funny fellows, both penmen and artists, who saw
merican Dutchmen a century or two after New Nether-
nd had passed away, and who have essayed to write or
icture the history of New Amsterdam, give us the impres-
on that most of the Dutch colonists were old and fat,
upid, choleric, and lazy, and lived in a cloud of tobacco
noke. Thus these caricaturists cast a glow more humorous
han luminous over the early history of the State of New
ork." — Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 49.

A recent reviewer of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's *History of* *the City of New York* declares that many writers show a disposition "to ignore the work-day character of the New Netherland colonists, and to try rather to invest them with an atmosphere of quaintness and with fanciful surroundings." — *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XV, p. 156.

[2] In 1620 the States-General of the Dutch Republic had refused to supply two ships of war to protect emigrants on their way to New Netherland. An English preacher had assured the West India Company that he had "the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him thither", both out of Holland and England, to plant there a new Commonwealth. — See *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 22-24.

[3] "Neither legitimate trade nor colonization was necessarily the first idea with 'John Company'. War, devastation of the Spanish possessions, capture of silver and gold, and traffic in slaves were their primal objects. . . . On the seas, and in the West Indies and South America, this corporation secured its loot and made its greatest conquests. New Netherland was only a by-product. Indeed, if this northern colony had not been at first looked upon chiefly as a station on the way home from Brazil and the Caribbean Sea it might never have started." — Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 139. See also *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 39, 42, 67.

[4] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 40, 65.

[5] O'Callaghan in his *History of New Netherland*, Vol. I, p. 178, sketches a New Netherland which might have arisen if the Company's directors had filled the land, "as

ne English were doing, with thousands of moral, hardy ioneers; had they transported cattle, and encouraged the lanting of towns and villages in the wilderness, instead of uilding solitary forts to serve as a rendezvous for lazy Inians and a few isolated traders".

[6] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the tate of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 106, 107.

In Dunlap's *History of the New Netherlands*, Vol. I, p. 7, we read that in 1638 when Kieft arrived, "it is recorded n the secretary of state's office at Albany, that fort Amterdam in the city of New Amsterdam was in a state of lecay and dilapidation; many farms belonging to the comany were without tenants or cultivation, and thrown into ommon; the trading vessels, with only one exception, were n bad condition; the houses were out of repair".

[7] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 149-151, 181.

[8] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 135, 136, 140, 141, 155, 182. At this time the West India Company again offers a charcteristic complaint to the States-General: "Jointly and ndividually, we sensibly feel in the inmost recesses of our hearts, the miserable and desolate condition of the poor people there, the rather as we find ourselves in such inability that we not only cannot supply the requisite means to bring this Colony, which is a source of so much expense for the West India Company, to such a state that we might in time realize the long looked for fruits thereof".

[9] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 152-154, 161, 251, 259-270, 275-318, 374, 375. In April, 1648, it was asserted that the

country lay prostrate, settlers were hunted, lands laid waste, bouweries and plantations to the number of fifty or sixty burnt and laid in ashes, "and what is worst of all, the Dutch name is through those cruel acts, despised to a most sovereign degree, by the Heathens of those parts". Even then it was prophesied that the English, who had grown to be about 60,000 strong, would in time take the country.

[10] *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 619, 630-634, 637.

[11] Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 127.

[12] There is authority for the statement that hundreds of the better class of Dutch withdrew from New York, returning to Holland or settling in the West and East Indies, not a few going to Virginia and the Carolinas. — Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 148.

[13] See Roosevelt's *History of New York*, pp. 48, 58; and *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Vol. II, pp. 512, 526, where the number was estimated at 8000 in 1667 and at from 6000 to 7000 in 1673.

[14] Cheyney's *European Background of American History*, pp. 186, 187.

[15] "Writers of English origin and apologists for English aggression are continually endeavoring to gloss over the English usurpation of New Netherland by disseminating the fiction that the New Netherlanders were so tired of their own government that they welcomed English rule. The New Netherlanders loved to quarrel with their governors and to accuse them of various misdeeds, as all oppositions will do, but this did not imply a predilection for English rule." — *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XV, p. 394.

The latest English opinion of the Dutch in America is a part of a psychological study of the American nation. The author writes: "The civilization of the Dutch succumbed before a more virile race, a race endowed with a peculiar genius to govern and leave its ineffaceable mark. All that the Dutch brought to America — language, customs, political principles — has been overlaid by the speech and institutions and political philosophy of the English. . . . Search as we may, we can find no trace of the Dutch strain or that the Dutch left any indesinent impress upon the American character or were able to modify a conquering race or impose upon it their own civilization." — Low's *The American People*, pp. 378 and 389.

Elsewhere the same author declares: "No people who have played a part in affecting the destinies of mankind — and that the Dutch did, no one who is familiar with their history or that of Europe in the sixteenth century will deny—offer such a curious and puzzling study. . . . And yet virile, industrious, undegenerate — and those qualities make the mystery all the greater — they have influenced the world so little." — *The American People*, p. 392.

Despite the fact that many Dutch geographical names have been erased from the map, chiefly by the English (as in the case of New Netherland and New Holland, which is now called Australia, though the name New Zealand has been preserved), Holland has been the only one among decadent states able to retain control of populous colonial possessions. Her colonies rank fourth in extent and third in population, although a very small percentage of the colonials is Dutch: it is estimated that the European element in the 25,000,000 people on the island of Java does not exceed 50,000 souls. Wherever the Dutch colonists have by their industry accomplished the greatest results, the English have been able to establish their political domination. This was the case in America, and also recently in South Africa, where the Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Cape Colony, still very largely Dutch, are now parts of the British Empire.

"In view of the overwhelming preponderance of Great Britain it is remarkable how Holland has not merely preserved, but extended its possessions; without them it would be an insignificant, feeble member in the family of Europe; with them its power is much more substantial and far-reaching than many of the larger empires. The Dutch, with a small army of a few thousand men, govern thirty-five million people; their ships ply in every sea, their merchants frequent every market, and their products are required in every household." — Morris' *The History of Colonization*, Vol. I, pp. 355-359. See also Dunlap's *History of the New Netherlands*, Vol. I, pp. 40, 41.

CHAPTER II

[16] Griffis in *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 48, believes the history of the Reformed Church in America to be all-important "because the highest Dutch social life was closely associated with the Church, and was from the first found in its largest and fullest form in the congregations. The Church nourished a spirit of democracy, besides maintaining the schools and culture after the English conquered New Netherland and the royal governors abolished the public schools. . . . The Reformed Dutch Church was the seedbed for the sprouting of American and Continental, as opposed to aristocratic British notions. The language, customs, traditions, and best inheritances of Patria lingered longest, and are to-day found most notably in the Reformed

churches in the East and West of our country. When New Netherland ceased to be, the Dutch Church and people still remained a potent element in the making of the American man and the world's grandest political structure."

See also *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 264; and Corwin's *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*, Fourth Edition, p. 45. On p. 132 of the latter work the reader will find that this Church was called "Reformed Dutch" or "Reformed Protestant Dutch" until the name was changed in 1867, after a somewhat heated discussion, to "Reformed Church in America". The writer, however, has taken the liberty to use the name given in the text.

[17] Low's *The American People*, pp. 378, 379.

[18] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 42-44, 116, 126, 131; and Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, pp. 249, 251.

[19] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 45-47, 99, 143, 162.

[20] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 1073-1082, where can be found a chronological list of the congregations of the Reformed Church in America, 1628-1902. See also Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 265.

Professor Albert B. Faust has calculated that the six thousand original Dutch settlers of New York (a conservative estimate in 1673), doubling their number every twenty-three years, would make about 200,000 Dutch descendants in 1790. To this number he has added about 40,000 Dutch for other States in 1790. Figuring that the population of 1790 increased about ten and one-half times until 1900, Professor Faust concludes that the American-born descendants of the early Dutch immigrants numbered about 2,520,000 in 1900. — Faust's *The German Element in the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 16-18.

[21] *United States Summary of Commerce and Finance*, June, 1903, p. 4339. The exact figures on Dutch immigration by decades are as follows: 1841-1850 — 8251; 1851-1860 — 10,789; 1861-1870 — 9102; 1871-1880 — 16,541; 1881-1890 — 53,701; 1891-1895 — 25,812; 1896-1900 — 6004; 1901-1902 — 4633. During the years 1821-1902 European nations contributed to our population in the order named: Germany, Ireland, England, Italy, Norway and Sweden, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Poland, France, Scotland, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, Spain and Portugal, and Belgium.

[22] *United States Summary of Commerce and Finance*, June, 1903, pp. 4375-4399. In 1900 the following States contained more than one thousand foreign-born Dutch: Michigan, 30,406; Illinois, 21,916; New Jersey, 10,261; New York, 9414; Iowa, 9388; Wisconsin, 6496; Minnesota, 2717; Ohio, 1719; Indiana, 1678; South Dakota, 1566; and California, 1015. The foreign-born Dutch in the United States in 1900 numbered 104,931, of whom 2608 and 18,555 lived in New York City and Chicago, respectively.

[23] *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, June, 1910, pp. 778-817; and consult also the *Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church in America*, 1910, pp. 33-45.

The fact that the language of the pulpit in the West is mainly Dutch and almost entirely English in the East is explained by the comparative youthfulness of the western settlements and the continual accessions of fresh immigrants from Holland.

The futility of attempting to compute the number of Dutch and their descendants in the United States is obvious. The Christian Reformed Church claims a membership of 14,031 families or of 78,427 persons. Computing on the same basis, the Reformed Church would have for its 63,364 families 348,502 persons, making a total of 426,929 people for the two Churches. But the membership of congregations in the East is not exclusively Dutch. Furthermore, it is difficult to estimate the number of Dutch who are Roman Catholics or non-church members, or the number of descendants of the original Dutch settlers of the seventeenth century.

In *A Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900*, published by the United States Census Bureau, Chapter XI is devoted to "nationality as indicated by the heads of families reported at the first census": the number of Hollanders is estimated at about 79,000 (50,600 in New York and 21,581 in New Jersey), and if their descendants maintained the same proportion to the native-born population, they would have numbered 875,000 in 1900. This estimate seems sounder than that of Professor Faust, mentioned in footnote 20. Adding the descendants of Hollanders who immigrated to America from 1790 to 1900, and 250,000 is a low estimate, and also all persons of Dutch parentage in 1900 (estimated by Professor Faust at 283,764), the people of Dutch ancestry and Dutch birth in the United States probably numbered about 1,400,000 in 1900.

CHAPTER III

[24] In the writing of this chapter the author has drawn upon the following sources, all in the Dutch language: *De Afscheiding: Een Gedenkschrift* (*The Separation: A Memoir*), by John Nollen, an excellent brochure written fifty years after the settlement of Pella; and *Landverhuizing, of Waarom Bevorderen Wij de Volksverhuizing en wel naar Noord-Amerika en niet naar Java,* (*Emigration, or Why*

We Encourage People to Emigrate to North America and not to Java), by A. Brummelkamp and A. C. van Raalte, 1846. The latter interesting pamphlet contains a letter to the people of Holland, a letter to the Christians of the United States, and letters of Hollanders who had been in the United States for the past two years. The author has also consulted *Geschiedenis van Pella, Iowa, en Omgeving* (*The History of Pella, Iowa, and Vicinity*), by K. van Stigt, in three parts, consisting of 391 pages.

[25] Young men chose the ministry as they would have chosen law or medicine, and candidates for the ministry had to subscribe to a very loose and ambiguous formula. See Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 9-12; and Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 12, 13, 137.

[26] Their organization being based on the creed and church regulations of Dort, the Separatists looked upon themselves as the original Netherlands Reformed Church and their official title was Christian Reformed Church. The secession principles were not shared by the aristocratic orthodox party in the Church nor by the mass of the clergy, who thought more could be done for the ailing Church by remaining in it. See van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, p. 33; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 25-29, for details of the secession in Holland.

[27] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 12. In his *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 6, 7, van Stigt writes: "Living at a time when the Dutch Reformed Church had sunk into a state of far-reaching decay, Mr. Scholte, by reason of his active and fiery temperament, became an instrument of the Lord to fan the smouldering embers into a blaze, and with the help of other courageous workers in the Lord's vineyard, under

God's guidance, he kindled a fire the results of which are still perceived and experienced in the Fatherland to-day."

[28] Article 291 of the Code Napoleon reads as follows: "No societies or company of more than twenty persons shall be allowed to organize for the purpose of daily or periodical gatherings to consider subjects of religion, literature, politics, or other matters, without permission of the Government and under such terms as local authorities shall deem proper to impose."

For details of the persecution, see Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 13-39; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 8-18, 72; and van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, p. 31. See also an article by Mr. Cyrenus Cole, *A Bit of Holland in America*, in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. III, pp. 115-117.

A glance at the table of contents of *De Reformatie*, a periodical of the Christian Reformed Church in The Netherlands published and edited by Rev. Scholte from 1837 until he departed for America, shows clearly how the Separatists were treated in various provinces. The writer is indebted to Mr. A. J. Betten of Orange City, Iowa, for being permitted to consult his bound volumes of this periodical. Mr. H. P. Scholte of Pella, Iowa, also owns a complete set of *De Reformatie*.

[29] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 30, 35, 37; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 18, 19; and van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 31, 33. Nollen in his excellent memoir quotes the words of Rev. Brummelkamp: "At first, when a Separatist appeared upon the streets, he was pointed at as if he were a being from another world, and urchins mocked him or threw mud and stones at him. If anyone joined the dissenting Church, he did it knowing that position and property, relatives and friends were at stake. 'You are

trouble-makers, you incite rebellion, you disobey your superiors,' said most of the inhabitants of The Netherlands. Even friends and relatives, with whom we had walked and counselled in peace, kept their distance, so great was their slavish subjection to Synodical supremacy."

[30] See van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 8, 31, 32; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 38, 39.

[31] Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 35; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 24, 72.

[32] The best account of the economic state of Holland can be found in van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 6, 7, 9, 10, 33, 34. See also van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, pp. 23-25, 72; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 40-42; and *Gedenboek — Vijftigjarig Jubileum der Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk, 1857-1907*, pp. 4, 5. The last named book contains an excellent article by Rev. Henry Beets.

CHAPTER IV

[33] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 40, 42; and van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 20, 33, 34.

[34] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 23; and van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 16-23, 35. With regard to Java, the author of the latter pamphlet wrote as follows: "May this emigration movement open the Government's eyes to granting full liberty in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, both in regard to schools and churches, so that our colonies may be rendered accessible to those who wish to go. Let an endeavor be made to send thither so many of our inhabitants as dare not think of going to America from a lack of money to cover travelling expenses. . . . The Government can easily advance to them the cost of food on the

journey, equipment and first expenses on arrival, while the transportation of thousands should be costless, because nearly 150 vessels return to Java empty every year. . . . Furthermore, just think of converting millions of Javanese to Christianity! But how can the thousands who are ready afford to pay the price? Let the Government do something before it is too late."

[35] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 40-43. The land which satisfied the wishes of the Separatists was then little known in Europe: "In those days America appeared to lie outside the world, and the journey thither demanded a farewell, such as reminded one of a death-bed scene. Emigrants were then still looked upon as moral outcasts: mostly persons who were in bad odor, who had been 'shipped away' by friends and relatives."

See especially van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 22-26, which is a transcript from *De Reformatie*, 1841; and van Raalte's *Emigration*, pp. 16, 35.

[36] Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 14, 24, 37, 42, 43-51; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 40, 41; and *The Pella Gazette*, June 5, 1856.

CHAPTER V

[37] Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 37, 54, 55. In their letter to Christians in North America, van Raalte and Brummelkamp appealed for money to help promote the emigration of the worthy poor: "In the following month [June, 1846] fifty persons, partly members of our congregations, partly other Christian countrymen, intend to journey via New York and the Lakes to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where a few families from the province of Gelderland already live; while a few others intend to journey down

the Ohio to Hollanders in Illinois, later join those in Wisconsin, and together to found a colony whither subsequent emigrants may go, according as the Lord shall supply us means to cover traveling expenses."

See also van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 74; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 43; and Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 159.

[38] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 42. Scholte said of himself: "At an age when man is at the zenith of his power to work, with all my God-given wealth and spiritual gifts, I can be of use there to my own family and to many of my present and also future countrymen: here at home the way to that is closed." — Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 24.

[39] Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 160. The number is given on the authority of A. J. Betten, one of the first Dutch settlers in Iowa.

[40] The Dissenters were pretty well scattered throughout the kingdom, but most of them were to be found in the provinces of North Brabant, Gelderland, Overysel, Groningen, and Friesland. H. P. Scholte was the leader at Utrecht. — See Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 29.

For all these facts the writer is mainly indebted to van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 75-85, 121. This history is especially valuable because it contains the names of all Hollanders who came to Iowa in the early years. The names of those who comprised the first party are also preserved.

It is interesting to note that van Raalte with his family and forty-seven followers left Rotterdam on the same day as the small party which landed at New Orleans, but van Raalte disembarked at New York and conducted his party to the State of Michigan to found what has come to be the largest Dutch settlement in America. — See Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 42, 43.

[41] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 85, 86.

[42] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 43; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 32.

[43] For the names of perhaps all of the Dutch emigrants upon these vessels see van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 89-112. This book, pp. 112-114, also contains the names of about seventy-five persons who came to America on various other ships, and afterwards settled in Iowa.

[44] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 115-121.

CHAPTER VI

[45] This account is contained in a pamphlet of sixty-three pages composed and published in 1848, entitled *Eene Stem uit Pella* (*A Voice from Pella*), and it consists of chapters on "The Preparation", "The Settlement", and "Conclusion", several appendices, and two small maps. — See the writer's translation in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. IX, pp. 528-574.

A reviewer in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. IX, p. 217, writes of the pamphlet as follows: "Reading like an emigration agent's advertisement with a sermon running through it, the paper has the further interest of reflecting contemporary conditions on religious freedom in Holland."

In the first paragraph Scholte writes: "Numerous former fellow-countrymen of mine must long ago have expected some article from my pen. The reason for my silence hitherto lies not in any indifference toward the land of my birth; for during my domicile in the United States of North

America I have followed the fortunes of The Netherlands as closely as possible. It pained me to hear that affairs since my departure have been so conducted that the blood of citizens had to be poured out, due not to differences with foreign potentates but to civil dissensions. Just as little must the reason for my silence be sought in dissatisfaction springing from my former experiences. With grateful acknowledgment of God's good hand over me for the unusual honor which has come to me in my new country, I have sincerely forgiven the land of my birth for the unjust treatment meted out to me in various ways.

"The reason for my silence hitherto is that I did not like to trouble my former fellow-countrymen with matters which they can read in every book on America, and I did not care to tell them facts which in themselves are of trifling importance but when colored a little have a certain charm for the minds of men. I believe I am well enough acquainted with human nature to know how little it takes to portray a situation in light wholly different from the real, and I am convinced of having so much regard for my fellowmen that I do not wish to be instrumental in deluding them in any way." — Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 1, 2, 9, 11.

[46] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 6, 7.

[47] It is said that besides articles and utensils for household use the emigrants brought all sorts of machinery, even heavy farm-wagons. "Beans and peas proved to be of most value in the following spring." — Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 121, 122. See also Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 7, 8.

[48] So far as can be ascertained, memory has not served van Stigt well when he writes of "Columbus" and of a

railroad as running from Harrisburg to Johnstown. There was neither a "Columbus" nor a railroad in 1847. When van Stigt asserts that the Hollanders went to Harrisburg by canal he must have meant "Hollidaysburg" because this was the western terminus of the canal from Columbia. Furthermore, the easiest and quickest route to Johnstown at that time was the natural passage-way afforded by the valleys of the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers.

Nollen, in his memoir, p. 48, has repeated van Stigt's account of the itinerary.

For a discussion of the Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railway, see Hulbert's *Historic Highways*, Vol. XIII, pp. 184, 200, 208-211, 213, 214.

[49] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 122-124; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 8.

[50] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 8, 9; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 48.

CHAPTER VII

[51] This entire chapter is based on Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 9-13. See also van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 2; and Brummelkamp's *Holland in Amerika*, p. 11.

CHAPTER VIII

[52] See van Raalte's letter printed in a pamphlet published by A. Brummelkamp, *Holland in Amerika, of De Hollandsche Kolonisatie in den Staat Michigan*, pp. 8-23.

[53] Brummelkamp's *Holland in Amerika*, pp. 34, 35; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 5.

[54] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 3.

[55] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 32.

[56] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 4, 5.

[57] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 2, 3, 14.

[58] In his *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 159, Donnell writes as follows: "Among other portions of this continent at first favorably thought of, was Texas. But after obtaining all the information that could be gathered, relating to its geography and climate, it was decided to be too warm. Missouri was also had in view, but the existence of slavery there forbade its choice as a location. Finally Iowa, then the youngest sister in the family of states, was chosen as the land of refuge."

Mr. Cole in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. III, p. 120, writes: "While they tarried at St. Louis a committee came from Nauvoo, out of which the Mormons had just been driven, and offered to sell that city outright. But they had come to America to make homes of their own."

See also Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 8, 9; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 48; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 74, where the writer states that Iowa had attracted attention when the Association was formed at Utrecht.

[59] The right to these lands was settled in 1849 by a decision of the Iowa Supreme Court and later affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. — See Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 169-172; and Greene's *Iowa Reports*, Vol. II, p. 15.

[60] Ver Planck van Antwerp was a Knickerbocker by birth, received his education at West Point Military Academy, became a government superintendent on the Cumberland Road, and later was sent by President Van Buren to

Burlington, Iowa, to be Receiver of the Public Moneys. In December, 1841, he became an editor of *The Iowa Capitol Reporter*, a democratic newspaper at Iowa City. His rancorous Whig opponents called him "My Lord Pomposity", "West Point dandy", "Our Noble Lord", and "Our Modern Caesar". See editorials in *The Iowa City Standard* for December, 1841, and an article in the *Iowa Historical Record*, 1891-93, pp. 426-429, where the writer says: "Van desired to be popular, was honest and faithful in all the trusts of his life, . . . but his style was more amusing than popular."

[61] For the sources consulted in preparing this chapter see Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 14-19; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 9-17; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 49-51.

CHAPTER IX

[62] Newhall's *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, p. v.

[63] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 27, 28; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 51; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 17.

[64] Phillips' *Mahaska County*, p. 239.

[65] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 18, 19; and for the main facts of this chapter see Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 27, 28.

CHAPTER X

[66] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 20, 21.

[67] Newhall's *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, pp. 40, 44; and Garver's *Boundary History of Iowa Counties* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, pp. 73-75.

[68] Newhall's *A Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, pp. 46-48.

[69] In Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 52, the number of acres is placed at 18,000, based on county records. In the *History of Marion County, Iowa*, pp. 331-334, there is a list of land sales for the year 1847, and Hendrik Peter Scholte and John A. Graham are credited with the purchase of most of the land in two townships. They could obtain land only in the even-numbered sections because the odd-numbered sections had been appropriated for Des Moines River Improvement in 1846 and were not yet on the market.

[70] See Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 19, 29. Nollen in *De Afscheiding*, p. 52, says of Scholte: "Because he lacked a competent book-keeper, this was the beginning of financial difficulties, which afterward led to much friction."

[71] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 29. This pamphlet contains a map which indicates the location of the farms which Scholte bought from the original settlers.

CHAPTER XI

[72] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 26; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 51, where the writer explains the meaning of the biblical name "Pella". See also Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 28, 29.

[73] See *Burlington Hawkeye*, September or October, 1847, for an article by J. B. Newhall on "*A Day in Pella.*" His visit was made on September 17, 1847.

[74] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 52; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 20, 21; and also pp. 25, 26 of a small book published in 1858, entitled *De Hollanders in Iowa, of*

Brieven uit Pella, written by a man who signed himself "Een Gelderschman", and whose name is still shrouded in mystery. For a popular account of sod-houses at Pella, see Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, pp. 161-163.

[75] See *De Hollanders in Iowa*, p. 115; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 23; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 21, 29, 30.

[76] *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 116, 119.

[77] *De Hollanders in Iowa*, p. 117; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 41.

[78] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 23; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 20, 22.

[79] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 22, 23; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 49.

[80] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 48, 53, 54; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 24, 31.

[81] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 24; and *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 170-172, 175, 176.

[82] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 18, 40, 41; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 30, 31.

CHAPTER XII

[83] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 23, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 53; and *History of Marion County, Iowa*, p. 263.

[84] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 53, 54; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 66-68, 71-73.

CHAPTER XIII

[85] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 34.

[86] For a discussion of the transportation problem see the writer's article on *The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. III, pp. 178, 199-203; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 70; *Laws of Iowa*, 1848, p. 47; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 24, 25.

[87] *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, p. 77.

[88] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 21, 25, 26, 27; also Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 9, which was written in the month of November, 1848; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 49, 50, 51, 74, 75. Amsterdam lay one mile south of a village now called Howell Station. In 1860 the site of Leerdam was surveyed near the Skunk River north of Pella, but the town never got any farther. Des Moines River improvement is still considered feasible. — See *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), November 29, 1911.

That Scholte and the Hollanders were intensely interested in this project is apparent from his petition to the State legislature on the subject. — See *House Journal* (Iowa), 1848, p. 245.

[89] *Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, Vol. IV, pp. 348, 349, 355; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 68-70, 76. Mr. H. P. Scholte of Pella doubts whether his father had a part in the plank-road scheme, as van Stigt alleges.

[90] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 20, 26, 27, 58; Shambaugh's *Iowa City*, pp. 110-116; *House Journal*, 1848, p. 245, and 1850, pp. 69, 160; and *Senate Journal*, 1852, p. 97.

CHAPTER XIV

[91] Brummelkamp's *Holland in Amerika*, pp. 13-16. Here van Raalte wrote that he would not dare "to plant a colony on the prairies, since it demands too much money. The expense of importing lumber for the houses and barns . . . . is in general too great for our people; and furthermore the rich farmer may feel at home on the prairies, but people trained in other lines of work will feel out of place." See also Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 46.

[92] Brummelkamp's *Holland in Amerika*, pp. 8, 9.

[93] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 4, 19, 42, 44-47; and *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, pp. 4, 5.

[94] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, pp. 3, 4, 28, 35.

[95] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 50-52, 61.

CHAPTER XV

[96] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 39; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 29.

[97] The voyage of the large number of emigrants in 1849 lasted from the first of May until the fifteenth of June. On board their sailing vessel, Franziska, ten persons died. Among the leaders were A. C. Kuyper, Jacob Maasdam, A. E. D. Bousquet, and John Hospers. The latter kept a diary of the journey from Hoog Blokland to Pella, which his son, Nicholas Hospers, kindly lent to the writer.

In July, 1852, the county judge of Marion County made a record of the census. Of 6289 inhabitants in the county, Lake Prairie Township had 1301, and of 869 foreign-born persons, the same township had 802. — See *History of Marion County, Iowa*, p. 380.

Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 58-65, 71, 77, 84; and *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, p. 169.

[98] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 67, 93-109, and Part III, pp. 15-29; *Census of Iowa*, 1856; and *The Pella Gazette*, May 22, 1856.

Many Hollanders who came to Pella by way of Keokuk during those years well remember the hospitality of their countrymen in that city, among whom was Caesar Obertop. This man met incoming steamboats at the wharf, conducted immigrants to his home, and if they were poor, helped them on their way to Pella. He was a general favorite at Keokuk for many years.

[99] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 79-93; and the *United States Census*, 1870, pp. 340, 353, 354. In 1885 Jackson County had no foreign-born Dutch at all, so that there is strong probability that the number returned in 1870 was a printer's error. See also Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 165.

CHAPTER XVI

[100] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 90, 91; and *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 118, 119.

[101] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 39, 55, 80, and Part III, pp. 10, 42.

[102] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 87.

[103] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 33-37, and Part III, pp. 3-7.

[104] *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 116-142; *The Pella Gazette*, April 19, October 18, 1855, and March 15, May 1,

1856; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 45; and Phillips' *Mahaska County*, p. 241.

[105] Parker's *Iowa Handbook*, pp. 183, 184; *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, p. 195; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 55, 56; and *The Pella Gazette*, May 3, 1855, January 17, 1856, and January 22, 1857. For Scholte's interest in Des Moines River improvement see *The Pella Gazette*, January 22, 1857; and for "railroad" meetings to consider the matter of voting a county subscription see *The Pella Gazette*, April 30 and May 14, 1857, and *Pella's Weekblad*, January 7, July 15, and August 10, 17, and 31, 1871.

CHAPTER XVII

[106] *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 166, 167; and Buddingh's *De Hervormde Hollandsche Kerk in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika*, p. 159.

[107] *House Journal*, 1856, p. 25; 1858, pp. 32, 62; 1860, pp. 68, 69, 75, 77, 266, 418; 1862, pp. 35, 50, 76; 1864, p. 60; 1866, p. 30; and 1868, pp. 39, 146, 324. See also *The Pella Gazette*, December 18, 1856, and March 11, 1858, where the editor urges that "the State Printer be hurried up a little."

[108] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 430, 459.

[109] *Legislative Documents* (Iowa), 1861-62; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1860, p. 60.

The Society for the Protection of Dutch Immigrants at New York City was supported by voluntary contributions for many years and finally ceased because the Hollanders were no longer interested. — See *Pella's Weekblad*, March 16, 1869.

[110] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 303; *Laws of Iowa*, 1870, p. 33; and *Legislative Documents* (Iowa), 1872, No. 27.

CHAPTER XVIII

[111] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895, p. 8, where Mr. John Nollen signs himself "X"; and *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 166, 167.

[112] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895, p. 2. Henry Hospers writes on the emigration from Pella to Sioux County. See also *The Sioux County Herald*, July 6, 1876.

[113] *Pella's Weekblad*, January 5, 19, and February 16, 1869; and *De Volksvriend*, July 23, 1874. The committee consisted of M. van Bennett, K. van Klootwijk, and W. J. Kornegoor.

[114] See H. J. van der Waa's story in *The Alton Democrat*, September 3, 1910. W. S. Harlan, a land-agent at Sac City, advertised lands near Storm Lake in *Pella's Weekblad*, January 26, 1869.

[115] *Pella's Weekblad*, April 27, 1869.

[116] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 61; *De Volksvriend*, June 25, 1874, and September 19, 1895; and *The Alton Democrat*, September 3, 1910.

For the last three paragraphs see pp. 102 and 103 of a little volume on Iowa, in the Dutch language, written by Dr. A. F. H. de Lespinasse and printed in 1875.

CHAPTER XIX

[117] For the facts of this chapter see historical accounts in the following newspapers: *De Volksvriend*, June 25, and

July 16, 23, 1874, for articles by Pelmulder; and September 19, 1895, for an account by Hospers; and *The Alton Democrat*, September 3, 1910. For contemporary Pella events, see *Pella's Weekblad*, February 23, March 9, April 13, 27, May 4, 11, 18, and June 1, 8, 22, 1869. See also Fulton's *Free Lands in Iowa*, pp. 45-47.

CHAPTER XX

[118] *Pella's Weekblad*, June 29, and July 6, 1869; *De Volksvriend*, July 23, 30, and August 6, 1874; September 19, 1895; and *The Alton Democrat*, September 3, 1910.

For the railroad grant, see *United States Statutes at Large*, May 12, 1864; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1866, p. 143.

For the homestead and preëmption laws see *Iowa: The Home for Immigrants*, published by the Board of Immigration in 1870, pp. 59-61.

CHAPTER XXI

[119] *Sioux County Herald*, July 6, 1876; and *Pella's Weekblad*, September 7, and October 5, 1869. Dr. M. Cohen Stuart's *Zes Maanden in Amerika* (*Six Months in America*), Part II, pp. 23, 24, where he describes a journey from Le Mars to Orange City in the month of November, 1873. For a reprint of his impressions concerning Orange City, see *De Volksvriend*, September 1, 1875.

[120] See *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, pp. 199, 581, 582; and *The Sioux County Herald*, July 6, 1876, where Jelle Pelmulder's historical sketch is printed.

It is worthy of note that Congress passed a joint resolution in March, 1876, recommending that the people of all the States should "assemble in their several counties or towns on the approaching Centennial Anniversary of our National Independence'' and ''have delivered on such day a historical sketch of said county or town from its formation'' to be filed in print or manuscript ''in the office of the Librarian of Congress, to the intent that a complete record may thus be obtained of the progress of our institutions during the First Centennial of their existence.'' — Governor Kirkwood's proclamation to the people of Iowa, embodying the recommendation of Congress, in Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 310-313.

CHAPTER XXII

[121] *Pella's Weekblad*, December 25, 1869; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 64.

[122] *Pella's Weekblad*, April 30, 1870; *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; *The Alton Democrat*, September 3, 1910; *Sioux Center Nieuwsblad*, September 7, 1910; and an article by A. van der Meide in *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*. The heads of families are named in *The Sioux County Herald*, July 6, 1876, and in van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 64.

[123] See Rev. James de Pree's interesting article in *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*.

[124] See Mr. A. van der Meide's article mentioned in note 122 supra; A. J. Betten's article in *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; and correspondence to *Pella's Weekblad*, December 28, 1872.

[125] The name ''Orange'' was applied to townships in Black Hawk, Guthrie, and Clinton counties before 1858. Wherever one finds ''Orange'' as a geographical name, there

is good reason to suspect the presence of Dutchmen, but so far as can be ascertained, the Hollanders had nothing to do with the naming of the townships above referred to. — See *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, pp. 581, 582.

In 1874 when an organization of Hollanders in the Eastern States wrote to Pella asking people to send in their contributions for a present to King William II in honor of his twenty-five years upon the throne, one Pella citizen scorned the idea and wrote: "Don't come to us!" Another Hollander answered him as follows: "Shame! Pella people could worship as they liked in Holland. See how they broke up at Pella and how their Christian school lasted only twenty years!" — *Pella's Weekblad*, February 20, and March 7, 1874.

[126] *Pella's Weekblad*, April 13, and June 8, 1869. The name "New Holland" was later changed to "Hope." — See *Pella's Weekblad*, February 19, 1870.

[127] For an interesting article, obviously written for advertising purposes, see the *Iowa State Register*, August 10, 1870. For a series of articles on Orange City see *Pella's Weekblad*, February 25, March 4, May 20, 27, July 1, 15, 22, and August 19, 1871.

[128] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895.

[129] For statistics on agriculture and population see *Census of Iowa*, 1873, p. 58. See also *Pella's Weekblad*, September 17, 1870.

CHAPTER XXIII

[130] These newspapers were: *De Heraut, Het Nieuws van den Dag, Provinciale Friesche Courant, De Wehsten,*

De Bazuin, *Hensdensche Courant*, *Haarlemmer Courant*, and *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. Early in the year 1870 there had appeared in the *Provinciale Friesche Courant* an article on Sioux County by Jelle Pelmulder. — See *Pella's Weekblad*, April 2, 1870.

[131] For the complete report of Hospers' journey to Europe, see *Legislative Documents* (Iowa), 1872, Vol. II, No. 27. The pamphlet mentioned in the report is entitled: "*Iowa: the Home for Immigrants*".

[132] *De Volksvriend*, October 28, 1875; *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, p. 198; and *Pella's Weekblad*, August 16, 1871, where there is an Orange City news item to the effect that numerous families had arrived from Alto, Wisconsin.

[133] Dr. Cohen Stuart's remarks were reported in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and reprinted in *De Volksvriend*, July 23, 1874, and in the *Iowa State Register*, October 31, 1873.

[134] See the first number of *De Volksvriend*, issued on the 18th of June, 1874. A cultivated farm of 80 acres, one-quarter of a mile from Orange City was offered for $25 per acre, and a prairie farm of 120 acres near East Orange station was advertised for $11 per acre.

Hospers at one time accused Pella people of hostility and jealousy and received this answer: "No! Honesty is the best policy, and you always set forth the best and more than the best side of things." — *Pella's Weekblad*, October 10, 1874.

[135] The little book from which the writer quotes so extensively is Dr. A. F. H. de Lespinasse's *Iowa*, pp. 7, 8, 102, 104.

[136] *De Volksvriend*, August 25, 1875.

[137] *De Volksvriend*, September 30, November 11, December 9, 1875, and March 30, 1876; and *Pella's Weekblad*, October 7, 1875.

[138] *De Volksvriend*, November 18, 1875, and March 9, 16, 30, 1876; and *The Sioux County Herald*, January 27, February 17, and April 13, 1876. The *Herald* contained the following item of news: "Mr. G. van Schelvin, editor of the *Holland City News* purchased two tiers of sections and returned to Michigan to put things in shape for the colony to move on the line of march to Sioux County. . . . The farmers around Holland will sell their property and come." Later it was reported that two Michigan parties had purchased additional land: "Should the present weather last, we may look for some of the parties here in three or four weeks. A few are anxious to locate near Orange City."

CHAPTER XXIV

[139] For agricultural statistics of the townships of Sioux County in 1872 see *Census of Iowa*, 1873, p. 58; and for a general review of the early years see Mr. Betten's article in *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895.

[140] In the *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1873, there are no returns from Sioux County, but the report of conditions in Plymouth, O'Brien, and Lyon counties applies with equal force to conditions in Sioux County. As to the locust depredations of 1873 see pp. 25-28, 438, and 439; and also the *Report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1873, pp. 155, 156. *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County* contains articles by Rev. James de Pree, Wm. Dealy, A. van der

Meide, and D. Gleysteen, to all of whom the writer is indebted for much of the material embodied in this chapter. For an account of donations by Pella, see *Pella's Weekblad*, December 27, 1873, and January 3, 17, and 24, 1874.

[141] *The Sioux City Weekly Times*, December 6, 1873, pp. 1 and 4. That Henry Hospers aided the colonists very much at this time is apparent from a news item in the *Iowa State Register*, October 31, 1873: "On the evening of the 20th the people of the young city called on Mr. Hospers and made a public presentation to him of a gold-headed cane. The cane was a handsome ebony cane with a large gold head, on which is inscribed, very neatly, the following: 'To our benefactor, Henry Hospers, from his Sioux County colonists, 1873'."

[142] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 99, 228.

[143] *Legislative Documents* (Iowa), 1874, Vol. 2, No. 31.

[144] *Private, Local and Temporary Laws of Iowa*, 1874, pp. 11, 12.

[145] *Sioux City Journal*, July 9, 1874; *Census of Iowa*, 1875, pp. 119, 178; *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*; *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1874, pp. 436, 437, 440; and the *Report of the U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1874, pp. 125, 126.

[146] *The Congressional Record*, Forty-third Congress, First Session, Vol. 2, Part 5, p. 4438.

[147] *Iowa State Register*, October 30, 1874.

[148] *De Volksvriend*, July 30, October 29, and November 5, 1874, and February 13, 1875.

[149] *The Sioux County Herald*, November 25, and January 27, 1876; and *De Volksvriend*, November 18, 1875.

In his message to the General Assembly in January, 1876, Governor Carpenter reported as follows: "The commission appointed to dispense the appropriation made by your predecessors to purchase seed for farmers made destitute by the grasshopper invasion in some of the counties of the northwest faithfully performed the duty. Although supplying all who came within the law, they returned $13,786.58 to the state treasury. This appropriation, with the generous private donations made to these people, both in 1873 and again in 1874, when there was another partial destruction of crops, I have no doubt influenced 5,000 people to remain in the state who but for this generosity must have left the country. To this work of charity General Baker gave time and heart, and deserves mention. The past season most of these people have harvested twenty bushels of wheat to the acre and are now living in comparative comfort." — Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, p. 168.

[150] For accounts of the years 1876-78 see *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*; and the *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1876, pp. 8, 9, 441; 1877, pp. 442, 443; and 1879, pp. 24, 26. In these agricultural reports Sioux County scarcely receives mention — no one seems to have reported conditions there, but the state of affairs in neighboring counties was practically the same.

CHAPTER XXV

[151] *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, p. 581.

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[152] *Census of Iowa*, 1873, pp. 58, 97; and *Iowa State Register*, August 10, 1870.

[153] *The Gate City* (Keokuk), June 17, 1874; and *De Volksvriend*, July 16, 23, 30, August 6, and October 29, 1874.

[154] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, pp. 126-128. Considering the ruthless destruction of the nation's forests everywhere and the rapidly increasing demand for lumber, it was believed that encouragement by the State by means of bounties would result in the gradual reproduction of timber tracts. The act of the legislature was hailed with general satisfaction.

This State Law also empowered county boards of supervisors at any time to exempt from taxation, except for State purposes, the real or personal property of each taxpayer who should plant and suitably cultivate one or more acres of forest trees to an amount not exceeding $500 for each acre, and the board might fix the minimum number of trees which should be grown on each acre. And a similar exemption was to be made for every half-mile of hedge, for every mile of shade trees along the public highway, and for every acre of fruit trees. See also Brindley's *History of Taxation in Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 262-264.

[155] *Laws of Iowa*, 1868, p. 202; *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1870, p. 19, and 1871, p. 434; and *De Volksvriend*, June 18, 1875.

[156] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; and *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*, Mr. Gleysteen's article.

[157] *De Volksvriend*, August 25, and September 9, 16, 1875. September 9, 1873, was the date of the first excur-

sion. See *Pella's Weekblad*, August 16, 23, 30, September 6, 20, October 4, 18, and November 1, 1873.

[158] For a history of these townships see *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, p. 581, or the *United States Census*, 1880, Vol. I, p. 170; and also *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County.* The names "Welcome" and "Capel" are said to have been suggested by John van den Berg and M. P. van Oosterhout, respectively.

[159] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 935-1044.

[160] *United States Census*, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 170, 507.

[161] *Legislative Documents* (Iowa), 1882, Vol. I, No. 11.

[162] *Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of Iowa*, 1879, p. 206. See also *Census of Iowa*, 1885, pp. 69, 175.

[163] Jan van 't Lindenhout's *Zes Weken tusschen de Wielen, of De Hollanders in Amerika*, p. 173. The frontispiece is a likeness of Rev. S. Bolks, the first regular Dutch Reformed minister in Sioux County.

[164] *United States Census*, 1890, Vol. I. pp. 157, 485; and *Census of Iowa*, 1895, pp. 149, 307.

[165] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895, contains contributions on all these and various other subjects.

CHAPTER XXVI

[166] *United States Census*, 1870, Vol. I, p. 353. Jackson County could lay claim to 746 foreign-born Hollanders, but the writer believes this number was misplaced when the census returns were printed. At any rate, the county had almost no Dutch later on.

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[167] Rev. John Schaefer of Alexander, Iowa, informed the writer that so far as he was acquainted with the congregations of his Classis of the Dutch Reformed Church the people were nearly all Germans.

[168] *Pella's Weekblad*, January 8, and February 26, 1870. Mt. Carmel in Carroll County was advertised in *Pella's Weekblad*, June 1, 1872.

[169] For these statistics see *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census*, 1836-1880, pp. 169, 170; and *Census Reports of Iowa*, 1885, p. 175; 1895, pp. 307, 330-333; and 1905, pp. 517-520.

[170] The writer is indebted to Mr. Henry P. Scholte, a son of the founder of Pella, for estimates as to the amount of land owned by Hollanders in the various townships of Marion and adjacent counties.

[171] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), July 28, 1909.

[172] *Pella's Weekblad*, August 12, 19, 1871, and December 1, 1911.

[173] See note 169, above, and also *United States Summary of Commerce and Finance*, June, 1903, p. 4,381.

[174] These estimates as to the strength of the Dutch in the townships of Sioux County are based on the tax-books and are furnished by Mr. Herman Te Paske of Orange City, Iowa.

[175] Rev. James de Pree of Sioux Center, Iowa, believes that these communities attracted most of Sioux County's Dutch emigrants, and bases his judgment on a thirty years' acquaintance with northwestern Iowa.

[176] *The Boston Herald*, March 19, 1911.

CHAPTER XXVII

[177] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 12, 13, 39, 44, 45.

[178] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, pp. 21, 22. On pp. 16 and 17 he discusses the national debt of Holland.

[179] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 2, 3, 12.

[180] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 31, 32, and p. 56, where an article from *The Burlington Hawk-Eye* is reprinted.

[181] *Laws of Iowa*, January, 1848, p. 16; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 32-34, 61, 62. See also *Senate Journal*, 1847-48, pp. 19, 24; and Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 163. As to the right of suffrage in the State of Iowa, see the Constitution of 1846, Article III.

[182] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 33, 34; and Buddingh's *De Hervormde Hollandsche Kerk in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika* (1852), p. 115.

[183] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 26, 27; and Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 9.

[184] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, pp. 3, 10. It is a noteworthy fact that the Hollanders elected officers according to the law of February 17, 1842, which had been so far repealed in 1845 that trustees were to be overseers of the poor and also fence-viewers. — See *Laws of Iowa*, May, 1845, pp. 27-30.

[185] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 11; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 45.

[186] See *House Journal*, 1848-49, pp. 245, 368, 392; and *Senate Journal*, 1848 49, p. 212. Also *Laws of Iowa*, 1848-49, p. 112; and Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 11.

[187] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 12.

[188] *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 122, 123.

[189] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 1, 40.

[190] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 2; and Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 39, 41.

CHAPTER XXVIII

[191] See Dr. Louis Pelzer's *The History and Principles of the Democratic Party of Iowa, 1846-1857*, in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VI, pp. 163-246.

[192] The Dutch could not have voted until the presidential election of November, 1852. The number of votes then cast in Lake Prairie Township was even less than the number cast in the county election of August, 1852. The number of votes polled at the State election of 1854 was just about the same as that at the election of August, 1852. — See *History of Marion County, Iowa*, pp. 418-421.

[193] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 37; *Annals of Iowa*, Vols. VIII-IX, p. 587; and Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, pp. 110-112.

[194] *The Pella Gazette*, February 1, 1855. Mr. H. P. Scholte of Pella has the files of his father's newspaper.

[195] *De Hollanders in Iowa*, p. 130.

[196] *The Pella Gazette*, May 3, and August 23 and 30, 1855; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 81, 82.

[197] *The Pella Gazette*, July 19 and August 9, 1855.

[198] *House Journal*, 1850, pp. 69, 160; *Senate Journal*, 1852, p. 97; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 7, 8; and *The Pella Gazette*, August 16, 23, 1855.

[199] *History of Marion County, Iowa*, pp. 626-630; and *Pella's Weekblad*, March 11, and October 7, 1871.

[200] *The Pella Gazette*, May 17, 1855, April 17 and June 5, 12, 26, 1856, and February 18, 1858. The following editorial appeared on February 18, 1858:

> Native puppyism was never better illustrated than by the measure now proposed. It is a narrow mind indeed that cannot devise a law to preserve the purity of elections, without exposing naturalized citizens to repeated insults. The proposed outrage will sink deep into the minds of the Hollanders, and they will take care to resent it.
>
> It is a strange delusion that Republican ideas flourish only in the empty heads of Know-Nothing demagogues, and are things unheard of on the other side of the Atlantic. Are they Know-Nothings *de facto* to such as not to know, that the ancestors of the Holland settlers fought and bled eighty years for Republican principles, long before the very dawn of American independence? Is it news to them that there was a time when the navy of that small but gallant Republic, made the English Lion tremble in his very lair, and burned the English men-of-war within sight of the English capital? Did they never hear of William III, who, as stadtholder of the United Netherlands and King of England, laid the foundation of that civil and religious liberty, which is yet the boast of the Anglo-Saxon race?
>
> The Hollanders were nursed and cradled under the enjoyment of Republican liberty for centuries; and those who have made Iowa their home, by choice, will not, without a remonstrance, submit to the ignominy of begging for a vote at the polls, with paper rags in their pockets, and upon the delivery of four subsequent oaths, at the pleasure of any Know-Nothing demagogue that may choose to challenge them!

It was reported by various newspapers in Iowa that H. P. Scholte, the head man of the Hollanders in Marion County, had left the Democrats and joined the Republicans. An Indiana editor heard of it and wrote: "Glad to hear it. We worked for the Old Gentleman while in the land of 'Prairie-grass' and 'Buffalo-chips', and esteemed him very highly. We are glad to hear that a man of his talents and education has joined the Republicans of that young and growing State. He is now where he should have been long ago, and where we think he really was in sentiment some time since." — *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 30, 1859.

[201] *The Pella Gazette*, June 26, July 24, August 7, 14, and November 6, 1856. The *Nieuwsbode*, published at Sheboygan, Wisconsin, was read by many Hollanders at Pella.

[202] *The Pella Gazette*, April 30, and August 6, 13, 1857.

[203] *Senate Journal*, 1858, p. 121; and *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, June 28, 1859.

[204] *The Pella Gazette*, July 22, 1859; and *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 30, 1859.

[205] *The Pella Gazette*, December 7, 1859; *Iowa City Republican*, January 25, 1860; and *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, November 3, 1860.

[206] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, p. 37, and Part III, p. 44; *Census of Iowa*, 1869, p. 261.

[207] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 46.

[208] Certain Americans at Pella were notoriously active "Copperheads" and after the war were bold enough to publish a newspaper called *The Copperhead*. They held a convention on July 10, 1861, and passed the following resolution:

> Under the administration of President Lincoln, we behold our beloved country distracted at home, and disgraced abroad.
> Commerce paralyzed!
> Trade annihilated!
> Coasts blockaded!
> Rivers shut up!

The Constitution trampled under foot!
Citizens imprisoned!
Laws suspended!
Legislatures overawed by bayonets!
Debts repudiated and
States invaded and dismembered!

See Byers' *Iowa in War Times*, p. 50; and Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 117. See also van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 45-54. For the names of Holland-born members of Iowa Regiments, the writer searched through the reports of the Adjutant-General of Iowa, 1861-65.

[209] Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, pp. 114, 116; *Pella's Weekblad*, March 23, 1869; *Census of Iowa*, 1867, p. 230; 1869, p. 261; 1873, p. 77; 1875, p. 485; 1880, p. 642; 1885, p. 381; and for subsequent election returns see the numbers of the *Iowa Official Register* from 1887 to 1910.

Political speeches in Dutch have occasionally been delivered in country school-houses.

[210] *History of Marion County, Iowa*, pp. 425-427; Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 94; Phillips' *Mahaska County*, p. 242; *Census of Iowa*, 1866, p. 163; 1873, p. 144; *Pella's Weekblad*, September 28, and October 5, 12, 19, 1869; and October 19, 26, and November 2, 9, 1872. The Hollanders found that one of their number was a very useful and helpful man to have at the county seat whenever they had any official business to transact. The editorial page of the issue of October 12, 1869, was full of single-line exhortations such as "All come out and vote", and "Vote for Henry Hospers." See also *Pella Nieuwsblad*, November 3, 1899; and the numbers of the *Iowa Official Register* from 1888 to 1911. For the names of officers since 1880 the writer is indebted to Mr. Meyer Langerak, Knoxville, Iowa.

For notice of the death of Mr. McCully see *House Journal* (Iowa), 1898, p. 667.

CHAPTER XXIX

[211] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; and *The Iowa State Register*, October 25, 1901. Also *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*; and *The Des Moines Weekly Leader*, October 24, 1901. See especially Pelmulder's correspondence to *Pella's Weekblad*, January 27, and February 2, 10, 17, 1872. Both Pelmulder and Hospers declared this was not the work of a mob.

[212] *Census of Iowa*, 1873, pp. 144, 147.

[213] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; *Legislative Documents* (Iowa), 1874, Vol. 2, p. 5; and *The Sioux City Tribune*, October 22, 24, 1901.

[214] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895, Mr. Betten's article; and *Pella's Weekblad*, June 25, 1870.

[215] *De Volksvriend*, June 18, 1874.

[216] *De Volksvriend*, September 1, and October 10, 21, 1875.

[217] *Census of Iowa*, 1875, pp. 452, 456, 493; 1885, p. 390. See also the *Iowa Official Register* from 1887 to 1910.

[218] The writer is indebted to Mr. Herman Te Paske of Orange City, Iowa, for these statistics. See also the *Iowa Official Register* from 1887 to 1912. Of the nine county officials besides the supervisors, five were Hollanders in 1912. Americans, however, have always received the support of Dutch voters. Hollanders have been equally strong in municipal politics and school elections.

[219] *De Vrije Hollander,* October 13, 1899, and April 6, 1900. *Pella's Weekblad,* March 27, 1903, made political capital of Roosevelt's display of favoritism towards the English. The editor ridiculed Republicans for supporting Roosevelt and referred to his Dutch blood thus: "Half Irish, all American, one fourth English, half Dutch, some Polish or Hungarian, and some French and German — that's Roosevelt!"

[220] *De Vrije Hollander,* November 8, and December 6, 19, 1901.

[221] *The Sioux City Tribune,* October 22, 24, 1901. See also *Iowa Official Register,* 1911-12, p. 92; and *The Des Moines Weekly Leader,* October 24, 1901.

[222] *Iowa Official Register,* 1911-12, pp. 594, 621.

CHAPTER XXX

[223] *The Pella Gazette,* February 1 and May 17, 1855, and May 15, 1856. This, with the exception of one at Council Bluffs, was said to be the westernmost newspaper in Iowa in 1855.

[224] *De Hollanders in Iowa,* pp. 130, 131.

[225] This notice was run for several issues after February 1, 1855.

[226] *De Hollanders in Iowa,* p. 131; and *The Pella Gazette,* August 14, 1856, and January 29, 1857.

[227] *The Pella Gazette,* September 24, 1857. See *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* July 21, August 25, September 1, 8, 15, 29, October 6, 20, 27, and December 15, 29, 1860; and *The Keokuk Gate City,* August 15, 1860.

[228] The share-holders were: John Hospers, Jacob de Haan, Henry Hospers, G. van Houwelingen, P. M. van der Ley, A. C. Kuyper, Isaac Overkamp, William van Asch, J. Akkerman, and A. Duinink. — See van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 37, 38; and also *Pella's Weekblad*, April 16, 1870.

[229] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 42.

[230] Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, pp. 114, 115; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 69.

[231] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 41, 42, 65.

[232] *Pella's Weekblad*, March 23, 1869; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, p. 38; and Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, p. 116.

[233] *Pella's Weekblad*, January 11, 26, 1869, and June 25, 1870; Donnell's *Pioneers of Marion County*, pp. 68-70; and *The History of Marion County, Iowa*, p. 638.

Unfortunately the existing files of *Pella's Weekblad* cover only the years 1869-1873. Mr. Johnson, the present editor, also has files of *Pella's Nieuwsblad* and *Pella's Weekblad* since February 10, 1899.

[234] *De Volksvriend*, June 18, 1874, and October 28, 1875. Mr. A. J. Betten of Orange City, Iowa, owns the files of *De Volksvriend* covering the early years.

[235] *De Volksvriend*, December 3, 1874, and November 18, 1875.

[236] The writer is indebted to the editors mentioned in this chapter for much information.

CHAPTER XXXI

[237] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 33, 45; van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 16, 19; and Brummelkamp's *Stemmen uit Noord-Amerika*, p. 17.

[238] Van Raalte's *Landverhuizing*, pp. 8, 16, 17.

[239] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 35, 36, 37.

[240] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 82-84.

[241] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 55, and Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 11.

[242] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 31, and Part III, p. 60; Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, p. 11; and *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Iowa), 1850, p. 94.

[243] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 84.

[244] *The Pella Gazette*, April 19, 1855.

[245] *The Pella Gazette*, February 1, 1855; and *De Hollanders in Iowa*, pp. 125-129.

[246] *The Pella Gazette*, January 17, and May 1, 1856.

[247] *The Pella Gazette*, January 8, 1857.

[248] *The Pella Gazette*, March 25, 1858.

[249] *The Pella Gazette*, April 28, 1858.

CHAPTER XXXII

[250] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 107, 110, 127.

[251] Dosker's *Levensschets van Ds. A. C. van Raalte, D. D.*, pp. 181-194; and *The Pella Gazette*, December 6, 1855.

[252] *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, pp. 71-76; and *De Vrije Hollander*, July 3, 17, 1903. The writer secured much information also from the Principal, Mr. C. Aué. The school property at Orange City is valued at $5,250.

That the advocacy of Christian education is not a product of American conditions but was introduced from Holland is apparent from the following:

"In 1857, under the influence of the liberals and the Romanists, the government banished religious instruction from the schools, and in 1876 abolished the theological faculties in the universities, but granted funds to the National Synod for special theological instruction. When rationalists secured these professorships the orthodox party established a Free Reformed University at Amsterdam (1880). The same party has established free schools all over Holland, in which evangelical religion is taught." — Corwin's *Manual*, p. 13.

[253] The value of the school property at Sioux Center and that of "The Hope School" is estimated at $6,500 and $1,200 respectively. — See *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, pp. 108, 401.

In 1911, schools maintained by parents, members of the Christian Reformed Church in America, numbered 133, with 172 teachers, and 6843 pupils, at an annual cost of $96,000, and with property valued at $227,800. — See *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, pp. 71-76.

Pella's Weekblad, December 1, 1911.

[254] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Iowa), 1910, pp. 200, 203; and *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, p. 264.

CHAPTER XXXIII

[255] *Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education* (Iowa), 1861, Appendices, pp. 35, 36, 91; *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Iowa), 1865, pp. 64, 65; and *Iowa Historical and Comparative Census, 1836-1880*, p. 537.

CHAPTER XXXIV

[256] *The Pella Gazette*, July 12, 1855; *Catalogue of Central University*, 1911, p. 5. See also Clarkson's *A Beautiful Life*, pp. 79-94, for a brief history of the college.

[257] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 59, 60.

[258] *The Pella Gazette*, August 9, 1855, and April 22, 1858; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 87.

[259] Clarkson's *A Beautiful Life*, p. 79.

[260] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 107, 110; and *Iowa Official Register*, 1911-12, p. 823.

[261] Clarkson's *A Beautiful Life*, pp. 86, 88, 89.

John Nollen and Henry G. Nollen have been conspicuous figures in the realm of education and art at Pella. The former was once a private teacher of mathematics, natural science, French, German, and vocal and instrumental music, while his brother was a portrait painter. See their professional advertisements in *The Pella Gazette*, February 1, 1855. See also the *Catalogue of Central University*, 1911; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 90.

CHAPTER XXXV

[262] *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895; and *Pella's Weekblad*, February 17, 1872. See also *De Volksvriend*,

January 7, February 13, September 30, and October 28, 1875.

[263] Dosker's *Levensschets van Ds. A. C. van Raalte, D. D.*, p. 181; and *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895.

[264] Mr. Gleysteen's article in *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*. Mr. Hospers continued to aid the academy until his death. See *De Vrije Hollander*, January 12, 1900.

[265] This chapter is based on the *Catalogue of Northwestern Classical Academy*, 1909-1910; articles in *De Volksvriend*, September 19, 1895, and *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County*; and *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1909.

CHAPTER XXXVI

[266] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 35.

[267] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 35; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 59; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 111-114, 123.

[268] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, pp. 13, 14, 34-36.

[269] Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 37; Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella*, pp. 13-15; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 121.

[270] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 116, 122, 124; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 59.

[271] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 124, 125; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 62.

[272] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 61-63; van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 125, 126; and Clarke's *Iowa Re-*

ports, Vol. II, p. 27. Pella's Garden Square came to the attention of the Supreme Court in 1869, as is shown in *Iowa Reports*, Vol. XXX, in the case of Fisher et al. v. Scholte.

[273] *The Pella Gazette*, January 8, 1857; and *Pella's Weekblad*, December 7, and 13, 1869.

This interesting little house of worship of 1855 was abandoned in 1910. (See *Pella's Weekblad*, January 12, 1910.) When the writer visited Pella in November, 1911, the building was being used as a skating-rink and basketball court by the young people of Pella. Its roof was sagging in, its sides were bulging out, and its chimney was dilapidated.

When the people of Utrecht, Holland, in 1909 tore down the church in which Scholte once preached, they preserved the pulpit and sent it to Pella. This interesting relic seemed to possess no sentimental value to the citizens of Pella, for they donated it to the Historical Department at Des Moines.

Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 127, and Part III, pp. 131-139; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 61, 66.

CHAPTER XXXVII

[274] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part I, pp. 32, 33; Scholte's *Eene Stem uit Pella*, p. 59; Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 55-58; and Dosker's *Levensschets van Ds. A. C. van Raalte, D. D.*, p. 52.

[275] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, p. 128, and Part III, p. 102; and Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, pp. 64, 65.

[276] Van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part II, pp. 95, 98, 108, 109. The second Baptist church at Pella held services in English at 11 and 4 o'clock. There were also congregations

of Methodists and Congregationalists in Pella. See announcement of church services in *The Pella Gazette*, September 14, 1859.

[277] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 65.

[278] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 935-1044. See also *Pella's Weekblad*, March 30, May 4, 11, November 2, 16, and December 7, 13, 1869.

At Pella there is a small one-story frame building with large white wooden cross. Roman Catholics at Pella dedicated this little building in May, 1869. Father Krekel who was able to speak some Dutch took charge of a congregation of forty members. Services are still held at long intervals by a priest who comes from Oskaloosa to minister to two or three families of Irish.

See also van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 101, 102, 119.

[279] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 935-1044; and *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1910, p. 803.

[280] Van't Lindenhout's *Zes Weken tusschen de Wielen.* Rev. Bolks was president of the Classis of Holland, Michigan, which sent a commissioner to Albany in 1850 to ask to be received into the Reformed Church of America. — Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 139, 335; and *Pella's Weekblad*, August 16, 1871.

[281] Rev. de Pree's and Gleysteen's articles in *The Historical Atlas of Sioux County.* See also Stuart's *Zes Maanden in Amerika*, Part II, pp. 25-27; and Buddingh's *De Hollandsche Hervormde Kerk in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika* (1852), pp. 105, 159.

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[282] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 935-1044; and *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1910, pp. 781, 787.

The Reformed Church in America has congregations at Parkersburg and Aplington in Butler County, Ackley in Hardin County, Belmond in Wright County, Titonka in Kossuth County, Buffalo Center in Winnebago County, Chapin and Alexander in Franklin County, Fostoria in Clay County, Wellsburg and Stout in Grundy County, George and Little Rock in Lyon County, and Melvin and Sibley in Osceola County. These congregations, however, consist almost entirely of German families. — See *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1910, p. 805.

[283] Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 135, 143-207.

[284] *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1910.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

[285] For short historical sketches of the Christian Reformed Church see Corwin's *Manual*, pp. 136, 140, 288, 479; *The Banner*, Vol. 46, pp. 6, 36, 37, 55; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis*, Part III, pp. 118, 131-133.

[286] Nollen's *De Afscheiding*, p. 60; Corwin's *Manual*, p. 140.

[287] *Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church*, 1911, pp. 28, 30; and *Pella's Weekblad*, February 2, 1869.

[288] *Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church*, 1911, p. 25. The Classis of East Friesland in Iowa is almost exclusively German, with congregations at Wellsburg in Grundy County, Ackley in Hardin County, Lincoln Center

and Parkersburg in Butler County, Kanawha and Wright in Hancock County, and Ostfriesland near Wesley in Kossuth County.

[289] *Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church*, 1907, pp. 80, 81; and the *Yearbook* for 1911, pp. 60, 61.

[290] *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, pp. 376-378, 393; and Dosker's *Levensschets van Ds. A. C. van Raalte, D. D.*, pp. 115, 116, 330-333. See *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, p. 328, for objections to secret societies. It will be noticed that the United Presbyterian Church is practically identical with the Christian Reformed Church in doctrine, government, and liturgy.

CHAPTER XXXIX

[291] *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, pp. 265, 376, 393.

[292] Van't Lindenhout's *Zes Weken tusschen de Wielen; Pella's Weekblad*, October 28, 1871; and *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, 1910.

[293] *The Pella Gazette*, February 22, 1860; and *Pella's Weekblad*, March 9, 1869.

[294] *The Christian Intelligencer*, June 15, 1876; *De Volksvriend*, July 20, 27, 1876; and Griffis' *The Story of New Netherland*, p. 249.

CHAPTER XL

[295] The gardeners of Orange City were once famous for their culture of celery. Some years ago it was said that they probably ranked second to the growers of Kalamazoo, Michigan, and that their product was shipped all over the States

of Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. They cleared from $300 to $400 per acre. — See *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1889, p. 542.

[296] This complaint was made by a writer in *The Banner* (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Vol. 46, p. 101. "Some culture," he asserts, "is obtained in church, in catechetical and Sunday-school classes, in young men's societies, in the meetings of consistories, classes and synods, in lecture courses, in meetings of school-boards and conventions."

[297] Phillips' *Mahaska County,* p. 243; and van Stigt's *Geschiedenis,* Part II, p. 66.

[298] Phillips' *Mahaska County,* pp. 240-242.

[299] Scholte's *Tweede Stem uit Pella,* p. 5.

[300] Van't Lindenhout wrote in his *Zes Weken tusschen de Wielen*: "Straw is simply burned because it isn't worth transportation. If a factory were fitted up here for the manufacture of straw-paper and for the working of flax which is much sown here and of which only the seed is saved, a good business enterprise would certainly result."

He also exclaimed: "How very different is the condition of these good friends here from that in Holland! Most of them perhaps never thought of riding in a carriage, let alone of owning one. Perhaps one observes that they have had to work hard for it, and this is true, but they have at any rate progressed. How many of our peasant folk there are in Holland who have, despite hard toil, in recent years retrograded!"

[301] *United States Census,* 1910, Bulletin of Statistics on Agriculture in Iowa. Lyon County had 894 foreign-born farmers and 775 native-born. Of the Sioux County farms,

701 were operated by foreign-born owners and 736 by foreign-born tenants — only Pottawattamie County had more farms operated by foreign-born owners, and Lyon and Plymouth counties came next to Sioux County with 424 and 391 foreign-born tenants, respectively.

[302] *United States Census*, 1910, Bulletin of Statistics on Agriculture in Iowa.

Sioux County farmers owned 1535 manure-spreaders, 200 more than the next competing county. — See *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1909, p. 90, which is the latest report on this subject.

Agricultural Report (Iowa), 1910, pp. 46, 49, 85, 91.

[303] *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1888, p. 536; 1889, p. 541; and 1895, p. 428.

[304] *Agricultural Report* (Iowa), 1909, pp, 91, 92; and 1910, pp. 81, 82.

[305] The Pella National Bank has wisely hit upon the plan of giving its patrons subscriptions to *The Homestead* in place of calendars at Christmas time. Such means are destined to stimulate among Dutch farmers a much-needed interest in farm journals.

Mr. H. P. Scholte, who is engaged in the banking business at Pella, informed the writer as to these financial matters, quoting a bank-examiner about the notes.

That some Hollanders are guilty of the sharpest practices cannot be denied. Out of fifteen dozens of eggs delivered at a store in Sioux County not quite half were fit to eat. This fact aroused the righteous indignation of a newspaper man who wrote: "And this in a Dutch community too, where we pride ourselves on honesty as a Dutch national trait!" — *Sioux Center Nieuwsblad*, November 22, 1911.

APPENDIX B

[306] *De Vrije Hollander*, October 13, and November 3, 10, 17, 24, 1899. The writer is indebted to Mr. H. Toering for the use of the files from 1899 to 1903.

[307] *De Vrije Hollander*, December 1, 1899.

[308] *Pella's Nieuwsblad*, November 3, 10, 17, 24, 1899, March 23, 1900.

[309] *The Sioux City Journal*, December 8, 1899; and *De Vrije Hollander*, January 5, 1900.

[310] *De Vrije Hollander*, December 22, 1899, January 12, 19, February 2, March 30, and May 4, 1900.

[311] *De Vrije Hollander*, December 15, 1899, January 5, 1900.

[312] *De Vrije Hollander*, January 12, 1900.

[313] *De Vrije Hollander*, January 26, 1900; and *House Journal* (Iowa), 1900, p. 122.

[314] *De Vrije Hollander*, February 2, May 4, 25, and August 17, 1900.

[315] *De Vrije Hollander*, June 15, 1900; and *Pella's Nieuwsblad*, June 1, 15, 1900.

[316] *Pella's Nieuwsblad*, November 2, 1900; and *De Vrije Hollander* during the months of October and November, 1900.

[317] *De Vrije Hollander*, June 14, July 12, 19, and August 2, 1901; and *Pella's Nieuwsblad*, February 8, March 1, April 19, and July 5, 19, 1901.

[318] *De Vrije Hollander*, October 4, 11, 18, 1901; and *Pella's Nieuwsblad*, October 18, 25, 1901.

[319] *De Vrije Hollander*, July 12, and December 19, 1901, February 28, 1902.

[320] *Pella's Nieuwsblad*, November 1, 1901; and *De Vrije Hollander*, December 16, 1901, and March 21, and April 4, 1902.

[321] *Pella's Weekblad*, March 27, 1903.

After the close of the Boer War William T. Stead (the well-known London editor and writer who sank with the Titanic) visited America and one day received an introduction to Roosevelt. The President, knowing of Stead's pro-Boer sympathies, suddenly turned to him and exclaimed: "My people were Dutch, you know, as you can tell by the name."

For a moment Stead eyed him, and then blurted out: "You didn't show it much when you sent those mules over to South Africa."

[322] *De Vrije Hollander*, January 10, 24, 31, February 28, March 14, 21, April 25, May 9, August 1, and September 19, 1902.

Pella's Weekblad collected several hundreds of dollars for the Boers as is shown by office-books.

When a report reached the Hollanders of Sioux County in 1905 that one of their young men had passed examinations for a Rhodes Scholarship, considerable consternation ensued and old wounds were raked open as is evidenced by the following translation of an editorial in the Dutch language, which appeared in *De Vrije Hollander* on March 18, 1905:

> As Hollanders, as Sioux County citizens, we should rejoice to have a young man of our nationality win the honor of being con-

sidered one of the two best students in the State. But as Hollanders we are ashamed that a young man of such talent should humiliate himself by accepting a gift of charity from the low-lived Cecil Rhodes, — from the man who was the author of the war against the Boers.

Furthermore, let us keep in mind the purpose of this scholarship prize. These prizes are meant to educate American students in England — not to enable them to gather more knowledge — to convert them into missionaries and propagators of the accursed, unjust Anglo-Saxonism.

That a young man who wishes to advance in the world should, in a fit of absent-mindedness, accept money stolen from the Boers, bespattered with their blood and with the blood of innocent children who starved in the camps, is a grievous shame. But that the feeling of honor of our people should be so stupefied that the young man was not admonished is more pitiful still.

APPENDIX C

[323] See de Lespinasse's *Iowa*, p. 88; Dosker's *Levensschets van Ds. A. C. van Raalte, D. D.*, p. 200; *Pella's Weekblad*, July 6, 1869; and *De Vrije Hollander*, January 11, 1901.

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